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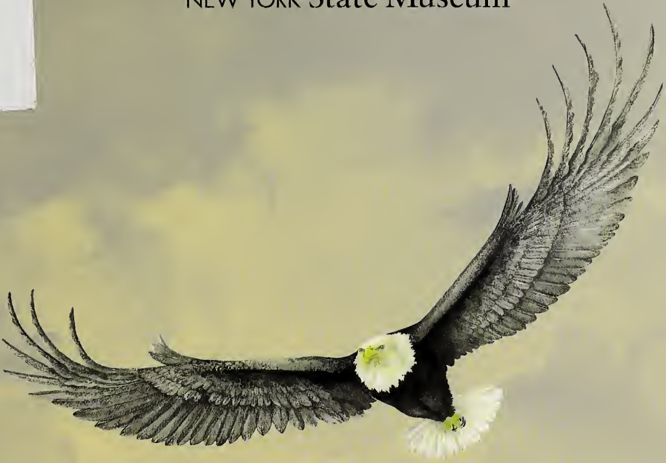
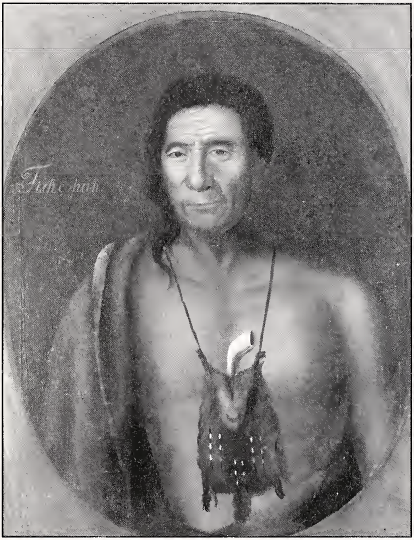


THE JOURNEY

An Algonquian Peoples Seminar

Edited by Shirley W. Dunn

MOHICAN SEMINAR 3



Sitting for a portrait in 1735, Tishcohan, a Delaware chief, wore a decorated tobacco pouch made of flying squirrel skin, a symbol of flight. In the pouch, he carried a ceremonial pipe. Only a few years later, he and other tribal members in Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley were cheated out of their land through an elaborate scheme called the "Walking Purchase," perpetrated by the sons of William Penn. Changes in Native American clothing are discussed in Chapter 7. (Painting by Gustavus Hesselius. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collection, the Atwater Kent Museum of Phildelphia.)

MOHICAN SEMINAR 3

The Journey–An Algonquian Peoples Seminar

Edited by
Shirley W. Dunn

New York State Museum Bulletin 511
2009

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PREFACE

Acknowledgments:

This, the third volume of papers from the ongoing Algonquian Indian Seminars sponsored by the Native American Institute (of the Hudson River Valley) and the New York State Museum, contains twelve papers from the seminars of 2003 and 2004. Combined with the two volumes previously published, the set constitutes a valuable contribution to the published materials on the Native Americans of the Hudson Valley and New England.

As the seminar has become well established and grown, this third volume has grown, also. As editor of all three volumes, I have spent many hours standardizing format for this and the previous two volumes of the seminar papers, published by the New York State Museum. Providing appropriate illustrations has been a time-consuming challenge, as well. My thanks go to the New York State Publications Office, and also to the Native American Institute, for funding pictures obtained from museums.

The Native American Institute is a 501C3, educational non-profit organization incorporated in New York State. Its chairperson from 2002 through 2005 has been Terry D'Amour, who in her profession is a Consultant Teacher. She has an abiding interest in the Mohican Indians, having grown up in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where the Mohican heritage is well known. (Her grandmother, Grace Wilcox, was the Town of Stockbridge historian for many years.) Terry continues active in the Native American Institute. Her years of service are deeply appreciated.

The eleven authors who have contributed the twelve research papers for this volume also deserve thanks. They have provided new material about Native American lives. Their research and interest have made the book possible. Authors such as Barry Keegan and Tom Lake have provided useful photographs. John Smith has provided a chronology of the experiences of the Wappingers, going beyond his paper to make this special insight into the Wappinger presence available. Hugh MacDougall has supplied extra information about works by James Fenimore Cooper. My appreciation goes to all the authors for their patience with delays and for their creative responses to the editing process. Thank you all. Thanks also go to Cliff Oliver for providing information about the "Bermuda Indians" and the photograph of his great-grandmother, featured in the Introduction.

Numerous other people have contributed as well. My husband, Gerald E. Dunn, helps with travel and has been understanding of the time and expense involved in the editing process. My thanks also go to Geoffrey Dunn, our son, who helps me negotiate the complexities of the computer. Other family members, including Patrick Russell, Laura Greninger Dunn, and John Oswalt, have comprised the family team of experts who solve computer problems. Thanks go also to the peer readers, who found time in busy college schedules to evaluate, analyze, and annotate the papers in advance, and to Carla Lesh, who ferreted out bibliographical references. The Albany Institute of History and Art, the Atwater-Kent Museum of Philadelphia, and the Fenimore Museum of Cooperstown have kindly permitted reproduction of artwork.

John Skiba, Publications Manager at the New York State Museum, has, through this third volume, been patient while the texts and pictures were assembled, and he has been supportive while this big volume was prepared. His skill and organizational ability are very much appreciated by us all. My thanks, with those of the Chairman and Trustees of the Native American Institute, go to him and to the Museum Publications Office for the publication of this book and the previous two volumes.

Shirley W. Dunn, Editor

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INTRODUCTION

This is the third volume of papers from annual seminars sponsored jointly by the Native American Institute, a non-profit educational organization, and by the New York State Museum. The cooperative seminars began in the year 2000. The goal of the seminars is to encourage the study of the Mohican Indians and other Algonquian tribes in the Hudson Valley and neighboring New England. In addition to the seminars, the Native American Institute has published research journals, sponsored educational events, and cooperated on Indian research with historic sites and historical societies.

MUSEUM BULLETINS FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1892

The New York State Museum, under the aegis of the New York State Education Department, has been the state's leader in collections and exhibits. For years it functioned in the columned building on State Street in Albany, known as the Education Building. Due to the limits of space in this building, both the New York State Museum and the New York State Library were moved to a larger building of modern design on Madison Avenue in Albany. Museum staff moved into the new building in 1978. The New York State Museum has been the repository and custodian of archaeological collections and historic artifacts from around the state since the mid-nineteenth century. Its bulletins, dating back to 1897, have been in the forefront of Indian studies. New developments in archaeology and new ways of looking into the Native American past have been featured in recent publications. A variety of other topics, often relating to museum exhibits, have been featured, as well.

It has been enlightening to be editor of the three volumes of papers from the jointly sponsored Algonquian seminars. The assembled authors have presented little-known or previously unrecognized information from a wide selection of sources. The citations of documents and books are remarkable in extent. Resources used by these writers range from archaeological clues to details about Native American ways of living, and from the Algonquian language to spiritual beliefs, long hidden. In a parallel development, translations of Dutch colonial documents have become available, thanks to the New Netherland Project, headed by Charles Gehring. Many Dutch documents contain information about the Indians of the Hudson Valley and the translations throw new light on adaptations made by the natives to the Dutch and English presence.

Hopefully, these seminar volumes will help encourage Algonquian history in the schools and in the public mind. For many years, the northeastern Algonquians, overshadowed by the Iroquois, were minimized in historical accounts and school curriculums. In both New York and New England, the situation in the last decade has improved as new books about Native American nations have appeared. However, further study and many additional reliable, carefully researched publications are needed to restore balance to the northeast's early history. As more information comes to light, this retrieved wealth of knowledge can give a strong but accurate voice to modern Native Americans.

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EXILE TO BERMUDA

The seminars of 2003 and 2004 brought outstanding talents to the museum's amphitheater. Most people presented papers, but others showed objects or demonstrated skills. One person with creative skills is Cliff Oliver, a photographer whose stunning work features natural scenes and Native Americans. He mentioned to the audience that he was descended from Native Americans who had been sent away to exile and slavery on St. David's Island in Bermuda, probably in the seventeenth century. While his personal notes did not produce a paper, they did produce information, which can be noted here: his relatives from the islands of Bermuda were descendants of the Indians who had been exiled there. His father, in New York, sought to keep this Indian heritage alive. When, in the late sixties and early seventies, Cliff Oliver was introduced to his first Indian pow-wow, the drums, he says, "went straight to my heart," and he decided to recognize his Indian ancestry.

Talk of eels among the flora and fauna of the Hudson Valley at the 2003 seminar (see Chapter 1), reminded him of how his grandmother cooked eels on his trips to Bermuda. He wondered whether it was a traditional Native American delicacy. At another NAI-Museum seminar, he learned of a Dutchman who long ago captained a ship named *Fox*. His great-grandmother's maiden name was Fox. She became Elsie Fox-Foggo when she married a local Bermudian. Taking her picture was one of Oliver's first steps in a photographic career (Figure 0.1.).

Moreover, the story of the Bermuda exiles reveals how Indians were sent away to slavery from the Hudson Valley during Kieft's war against the Indians at the south end of the Hudson River, during the Esopus War, and from New England during other wars. While the Bermudian Indians are uncertain today about which tribes their ancestors came from, research by Ethel Boissevain (*Man in the Northeast*, 21:1981) shows that a large group who arrived at St. David's Island were Pequots or Wampanoags. This group, sent off to Bermuda after King Philip's War of 1676, may have included the widow and young son of Metacom (King Philip). There is much more to be learned about these harsh banishments.

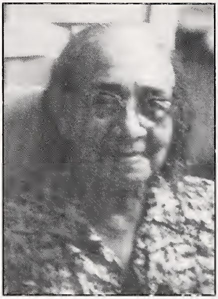
Figure 0.1. This photograph of his Indian great-grandmother, Elsie Fox-Foggo, was taken by photographer Cliff Oliver about 1970. She was among descendants of a colony of Native Americans exiled to St. Davids Island, Bermuda, long ago. A widow with three children, she came from Bermuda to live in the United States in1920

CHAPTERS SPAN MANY ERAS

One presenter, Tom Lake, has two articles in the present volume, having spoken at both seminars represented in this volume. In Chapter 1, he pictures the Hudson estuary as it was soon after glaciers retreated and notes the resources that would have led early man to settle here. He speaks as an experienced estuary hand, familiar with its creatures and archaeological sites. Chapters in this volume are arranged by connections between subjects. For example, R. Ernest Rugenstein gives life to the early peoples in the Hudson estuary with a report on archeological artifacts found along the Kinderhook Creek, a part of the estuary about which Lake talks in the previous chapter.

Timothy Ives notes that the sale of their land caused Indian units to gather and leave their marks and names on the documentary record in the form of deeds. He writes of the subtle interactions of adjacent Indian groups in New England, and of members who crossed tribal lines without blurring tribal distinctions. John M. Smith carries this theme further by tabulating Wappinger relationships with the Mohicans and other neighbors. In addition to his formal paper, Smith has supplied extracts which provide information about Wappinger people living along the Hudson River. In the 1660s, they tried to stay at peace, but risked their own welfare by assisting their neighbors, the Esopus, at war with the Dutch. Also included is mention of neighbors, the Kitchawancs/Kightamonks, whose fort, now an archaeological site, is featured in Chapter 5. Scott Horecky talks about the preservation of a unique Kitchawanc site. Shirley Dunn's paper deals with the mountain territory of an adjacent native nation, the Esopus, who lived across the river from the Wappingers, and she gives insight into the origin of the name of the Catskill Mountains.

During these seminars, we were shown that some nearly lost Native American skills can be perpetuated by recreating native ways. Jennifer Lee has researched how Indian clothing has changed. She has made many reproduction items of leather clothing for herself by using aboriginal methods and she demonstrated to the seminar audience the clothing and typical artifacts used in native life. Barry Keegan also excels at almost forgotten skills: he presented a lesson in native methods of fire-starting and has supplied an appendix on fire-starting materials. His paper and Jennifer Lee's paper will be helpful to the many readers who want to know how Native Americans lived before they adopted European ways.

In Chapter 9, Hugh MacDougall deals with a famous author, James Fenimore Cooper, whose fiction about the colonial period is still popular. MacDougall finds Cooper was favorably viewed by many Indians in the nineteenth century for his sympathetic picture of native life. This is refreshing and useful, given that some modern Mohicans feel Cooper did them a great injustice by suggesting they were a dying people, soon to be gone. Today's existing Mohican population has shown how wrong he was, as MacDougall notes.

FAMILY RESEARCH LEADS TO HISTORICAL REVELATIONS

The papers of two seminar presenters illustrate how searching out ancestors can lead to not only a love story but valuable historical information. Debra Winchell has researched her Indian ancestor, John Van Gelder, who married Mary Karner, a German girl. He became involved in the dispute between Robert Livingston and the Mohicans over tenants in the borderland. Van Gelder, who had been jailed along with his son, was strongly supported by his Mohican nation. Achieving the prisoners' release became part of William Johnson's political strategy during the French and Indian Wars. Richard Niemi, in another chapter, has detailed a worthy Mohican woman, Mary Peters Doxtater, who taught skills to women of her village, began a group to promote reading and science, bought land to help friends, and even acted as a lawyer for the Stockbridge tribe. We learn not only about a woman, but some details of the Mohican relationship with the Quakers. Moreover, Niemi's research gives a picture of New-Stockbridge (on the site of present Munnsville, New York) where Stockbridge Mohicans lived after the American Revolution on lands granted to them by the Oneida Indians.

CHAPTERS INSPIRE RESPECT

From this assortment of chapters, the reader can understand the rich variety in Indian experiences that this volume and the previous two volumes present. The three volumes together provide formerly unavailable insights into the Native American experience and inspire respect for these native players involved in coping with the European presence which could have overwhelmed them.

Shirley Dunn, Editor

CHAPTER I

THE ANCESTRAL LURE OF THE HUDSON ESTUARY: PREDICTABLE AQUATIC RESOURCES

Tom R. Lake (2003)

There was a time when no humans lived in the Hudson Valley. No one lived in New York State, and no one lived in North America. Those areas not under thousands of feet of glacial ice were the domain of late Pleistocene fauna, a distinct community of animals finely tuned to the vagaries of the Ice Age. Then, some 21,000 years ago, the ice slowly began to melt and, as time passed, life forms returned to the Northeast.

Eventually there was a human presence, but it is not certain when that occurred. It is very likely that the first people to enter the Northeast did so in seasonal pursuit of big game or even in a spirit of adventure. Whatever the initial lure, over time humans came to regard the Hudson River Valley as their home. It took a special set of circumstances to convince them that this watershed would provide the necessary resources to them. Prime among these was the geography of the Hudson Estuary, with its predictable aquatic resources. Every story must have a beginning. While this one will tell a tale of prehistoric people making a living along the Hudson River, to make sense of it the reader must start at a time when no one lived in the Hudson Valley, at the zenith of the last Ice Age 21,750 years ago, a time that geologists call "glacial maximum." (Dates reported here are expressed in radiocarbon years before present.) There was over a mile of "dirty ice" overhead, filled with debris, from grains of sand to rocks the size of school buses (Cadwell 1986). Over and under this imposing mantle of ice almost nothing lived.

Soon the wasting away of the Laurentide ice sheet began in a series of fits and starts, retreating then re-advancing, but moving inexorably to higher latitudes. Moraines left behind by the receding ice blocked the escape of the meltwater, creating pro-glacial lakes. At some point, perhaps by 15,000 years ago, the ice had left much of New York State and some life had been reestablished. At first there followed a stark periglacial tundra with little ecological support for much more than pioneer species.

Within a few millennia, however, the climate had moderated from tundra to park-woodland and large mammals had returned. By 12,000 years ago, with sea level still ninety-two feet below present levels, the depressed land allowed ocean water into the ancestral Hudson and it became an estuary (Newman, et al. 1969:568). The changing environment created physiological stress on the fauna. Pandemic diseases, such as tuberculosis, may

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slowly have been compromising the fecundity of the large mammals (Rothschild 2001). Many animals, unable to adapt rapidly enough to a wide range of ecological alterations, were heading toward extinction.

Before that moment arrived, however, a new form of life appeared in the Northeast: humans. There is tantalizing evidence that these faunal communities crossed paths, one heading to oblivion, the other to dominance. Both temporally and spatially, the first humans and the last elephants were likely contemporaries, if only for a brief time. Sea level was still low at the end of the Pleistocene and glacially exposed coastal plains, river valleys, and game trails provided the first "Native Americans" with a road map into the Northeast. However, as Steve Comer, a modern Mohican, reminds us, "There really are no 'Native' Americans. We all came from somewhere. Some of us just arrived here sooner."

The first Hudson Valley Indians were drawn here by a moderating climate, the ease of passage, an abundance of high-quality lithics (stone materials) for tools, and the increasing reliability of resources such as sea-run fishes, waterfowl, upland game, and various wild foods. Their entry may also have been abetted by curiosity and the human spirit of exploration. Certainly factors such as the wasting and re-advance of ice sheets, the formation and draining of pro-glacial lakes, the dramatic drop and subsequent modest rise in sea level, the rebound of the land, and the existence of a succession of ecological communities that could support human existence all played a major role in shaping their presence. Dena Dincauze theorizes that the newcomers may have moved into the Northeast along the edge of the retreating glacial ice in pursuit of summer nesting birds of the Atlantic Flyway (Dincauze and Jacobson 2001). In addition to the aquatic resources of the tidewater Hudson—for example, Louis Brennan argues that there may have been oysters in the lower river by 12,000 years ago (1974:412)—predictability also ran high within the Atlantic Flyway, a north-south conduit for migrating waterfowl.

How old are the human presence in New York State? Until recently, it would have been problematic to theorize that humans might have been in the Northeast as early as 11,500 years ago. Yet, the Clovis-first paradigm dictated a human entry into the Americas occurring 12,000 years ago. In the last decade, however, the Monte Verde site in Chile. dating to possibly 13,000 years ago, has gained wide acceptance for its antiquity (Meltzer, et al. 1997) Other archaeological components at Monte Verde may be dated older still. Closer to the Northeast, the Meadowcroft Rockshelter in western Pennsylvania, just below the extent of a terminal moraine, has produced radiocarbon dates of 14,000 years B.P. (Adovasio, Gunn, Donahue, and Stuckenrath 1977:152-153).

THE SEASONAL LURE OF THE ESTUARY

The first people to enter the region encountered fish that had been living in the shadow of the glacier, periglacial species finely adapted to the deep and often turbulent cold water lakes and outwash creeks. These made a resilient community of fishes, such as the longnose sucker, lake herring, lake whitefish, and round whitefish, that today are relegated to deepwater niches in glacial lakes and cold headwater streams. Every cold and quiet stream must have teemed with brook trout and slimy sculpin. Every cold and quiet lake must have harbored lake trout.

Of the 210 documented species of fish in today's Hudson River watershed (Lake 2002), how many were available to people in prehistory? Have certain species been extirpated from the Hudson? Are there any missing menu items that may have been available in prehistory? With the possible exception of the Atlantic salmon, there are no data to indicate that anything is missing. Once the introduced aliens, the canal immigrants, the rare marine visitors, and the inconsequential (small fish such as minnows) are removed from consider-

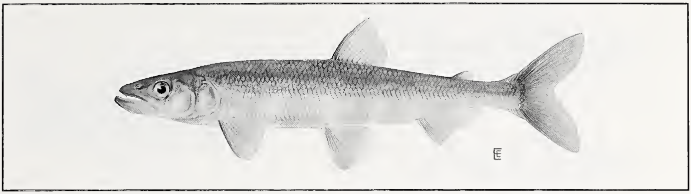

Figure 1.1. Rainbow smelt migrated into the Hudson River to spawn in the spring. (Ellen Edmonson, artist)

ation, about forty-five species of fish are left that probably were readily available. These can be counted either because the prehistoric ecology of the valley would have favored their presence, or because the archaeological evidence indicates that they were utilized from time to time. These species range from ocean migrants to residents and would have produced a year round "fish market" for prehistoric peoples.

The magic of the Hudson estuary lies in both the predictability of its aquatic resources and in the way nature choreographed their successive availability. While the types of fish and numbers of individuals may have been impressive, it was their arrival and distribution that made the process so important. If all of the fish had appeared in the valley at the same time and had been present in the same general reach of the river, their value to the people would have been intense but short-lived. As it was, the season unfolded like the acts in a play, each period unique both in the fish involved and in the season in which they appeared. Ethnographic accounts tell us that fish provided a large portion of the village protein in Woodland times (Snow 1994:36). Through bio-indicators such as the blooming of flowers, the migration of birds, the angle of sunlight, and the length of day, prehistoric peoples knew when and where fish would be available. They congregated at these locations (Snow 1994:14), or fusion points, where fish could be caught and the social aspects of human lives could be played out.

SPRING: FISH FROM THE SEA

Although it is a hypothesis, it seems there has been a warming in the seasons over the last several millennia. Today's spring would seem like an "late spring" in prehistory. The abundance of fishes available to prehistoric peoples was especially impressive in spring, with its sea-run species (Funk 1976:7). The trigger moving the changing array of fish species was, and is, water temperature. Their cue to come on stage was tied to the warmth of the river, which, in turn, determined the optimum time to lay their eggs.

Whenever it was that late winter met early spring, rainbow smelt were the first to arrive from the sea (Figure 1.1.). Smelt found the Hudson's tributaries ideal habitat for spawning. These fish are not large. Spawning adults may have only been a hand's-length long, but they were delicious, and there were millions of them. Prehistoric peoples crunched through late winter snow along the dozens of tidewater creeks to set their nets. There would have been enough cold weather left so that preserving the catch would not have been an issue early in the season.

About a month would pass before another fish, the alewife, would arrive from the sea, again by the millions and again headed to the

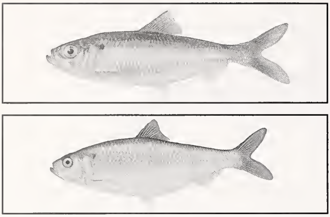

Figure 1.2. Successive young-of-the-year herring (shown: alewife, top, and blue-back herring) coming in from the sea were fish resources for Algonquian peoples along the Hudson. Top (Ellen Edmonson, artist); Bottom (Hugh Chrisp, artist)

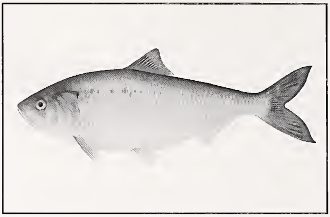

Figure 1.3. The American shad, a welcome spring food for Native Americans, once swam upriver in immense numbers. (Hugh Chrisp, artist)

tributaries from today's Westchester County to the fall line at Troy (Figure 1.2.). By this time, the major extent of the smelt spawning run was over, and the arriving alewives would not have to compete for space. These river herring were somewhat larger than the smelt; an alewife could be up to a foot in length, with some weighing as much as a pound. When the colonial Dutch spoke of walking across streams dry-shod on the backs of fish, they were probably referring to alewives. By the time of their arrival, it was truly springtime and the improved weather made these fish easy to catch.

There is a fishing technique of the historic period that very likely traces its origin to precolonial times. By "closing off a cove," fishermen allow the rising tide to bring large numbers of migratory fish, such as alewives, into a shallow bay with a constricted opening. Once the tide is full, the narrow passageway is closed with a net. As the bay empties in the ebb tide, the fish are trapped inside. Harvesting then becomes a simple matter of wading out in the bay and picking up the fish lying in the mud.

At the same time that the tidewater creeks were bubbling with alewives, great contingents of American shad, a much larger herring, were arriving from the sea. These fish chose to run upriver to freshwater and spawned in the main stem. Today this occurs from approximately RM 85 to RM 145. (River miles (RM) are measured from the southern tip of Manhattan Island.) Adult shad can reach thirty inches in length and can weigh twelve pounds. With few exceptions, these millions of large herring are content to be in the main river and are of little consequence to the spawning going on in the tributaries (Figure 1.3.).

Preservation of these fish for future use, if taken in large numbers, would be paramount. The further upriver they were taken, the less practical using salt from the sea to preserve them would have been. Remains of smoking platforms for shad and herring of the past have been found along the river, amidst millions of tiny bones and scales. Among contemporary shad and herring smokers this is known as "Hudson River confetti." The quantity of shad harvested in prehistory must have been enormous. Ethnographic accounts of some Indian nets describe seines as being 500 feet long (Brumbach 1986:42-43). Nets of that size today have been known to capture 1,000 American shad and countless smaller herring in one sweep. With a predictable bounty of this magnitude, there was probably a ritual element to

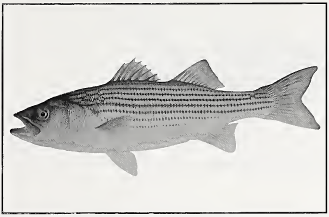

Figure 1.4. Tagged striped bass have been released at Diamond Reef, sixty-eight miles north of Manhattan. Faunal remains of striped bass and shad, as well as of other fish, have been identified in archaeological sites. (Hugh Chrisp, artist)

the harvest. Springtime shad bakes along the Hudson have been a tradition since colonial times, and it would not be surprising to learn that the practice is thousands of years old.

Within a few weeks another species of river herring, the blueback, would arrive (Figure 1.2.). These fish looked very much like the alewife but their spawning habitat differed. Blueback herring tended to migrate deep into the estuary, going at least 100 miles upriver, where they spawned both in the main river and in tributaries. By their arrival time, however, the initial surge of spawning alewives had lessened, and the bluebacks found plenty of space for themselves.

These huge schools of spring herring lured more than fishermen. At any time in the pursuit of shad and herring the round head of a harbor seal, like a soccer ball with whiskers, might pop up and strip a net of its contents. It is not uncommon for modern day commercial fishermen to haul their gill nets and find that all of the herring heads have been bitten off. Like kids in a candy store, harbor seals must find a bulging net too much of a temptation to pass. And the resource is so great that rivermen never begrudge them their share.

Envision a foggy dawn in April of long ago. At first light a dozen people congregate along the river at the mouth of a tidal stream. The air is warm, the river is cool, and the flood tide is halfway up on the beach. A heavy haze is rising off the water and, though unable to see them, they can hear the splashing of hundreds of herring working their way up the river, toward them, nosing along the shore, searching for the entrance to the creek. A shaman faces the water and speaks ancient words, calling the fish (Tooker 1991:64). There is a smell like fresh cucumbers in the air. Some people say that they can smell the presence of river herring in the spring. Certainly these prehistoric fishermen, as they set their seine out from the shore, are using all of their senses. Within seconds they can feel the fish bouncing off the mesh. Those holding the outboard end of the net quickly move ashore, closing the loop, and together they haul a net full of silvery fish onto the sand. The process is quick, simple, and predictable.

Again, millions of adult striped bass were queued up in the brackish reach of the lower Hudson awaiting their special water temperature, which was several degrees warmer than the shad and alewife chose. When warmer temperatures arrived in late April or early May, they surged upriver to spawn. Like the shad they were seeking fresh water. Unlike the shad and herring, they did not have to migrate far upriver. Today this spawning reach runs from approximately RM 58 to RM 150 and begins from one to three weeks later than the shad run. It overlaps but does not envelop (Figure 1.4.).

The final in-from-the-sea-to-spawn migration occurred in late spring. Today the Atlantic sturgeon arrives in modest numbers and sizes in contrast to the higher quantities and large sizes in the distant past. Inappropriate levels of commercial fishing have taken their toll. Tales from Colonial times speak of eighteen foot long, 800 pound "sea sturgeon." Few today exceed ten feet and 300 pounds. These sea-run sturgeon require a slightly warmer water temperature than the earlier migrants, which

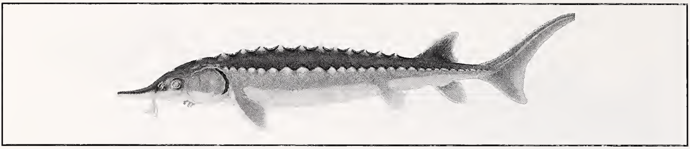

Figure 1.5. Atlantic sturgeon came in from the sea to spawn. (Hugh Chrisp, artist)

makes them the last to arrive. While they migrate upriver to freshwater, there are some indications that they also can spawn in mildly brackish water. This widens their range of acceptable habitat. Most spawning today occurs from approximately RM 80 to RM 138. The size and habits of these fish would seem to make their capture problematic for prehistoric peoples; today they tend to frequent the deeper areas of the Hudson, rarely venturing inshore. However, seventeenth century ethnographic accounts indicate that these fish at an earlier time were commonly found inshore, making them much more vulnerable to seines, weirs, harpoons, and other aboriginal fishing equipment and techniques. (Figure 1.5.)

Many archaeological site reports from the Hudson watershed mention "sturgeon remains," mostly referring to their modified scales called scutes. Sturgeon are cartilaginous fish which have no bones, so their hardened scales are often the only part that survives. These scales, some the size of desert plates, became a part of prehistoric Indian tool kits. Among many other locations, sturgeon remains were found at Joraleman's (Fish Club) Cave along Hannacrois Creek (RM132.5), in Albany County (Steadman, Craig, Engel 1993:9); at the Tufano site (RM121) in Greene County, where sturgeon processing may have spawned an industry featuring a heavy-duty butchering tool called the "Petalas blade" (Funk 1976; Fogelman 1992:185; Reifler and Lindner 2000); and at the Wolfersteig site on a terrace overlooking Esopus Creek at Hurley (RM92) in Ulster County (Diamond, personal communications, 1994; Smith and Lake 1994). The Wolfersteig faunal assemblage also included identifiable remains of striped bass, American shad, white sucker, yellow perch, bullhead and minnows, probably either fallfish or creek chub. At the Tamarack site along the river in Dutchess County, sturgeon remains were found in several Woodland components (Vargo and Vargo 1986). In Early Woodland times, the river often was shallow (Schuldenrein 1995:62), exposing inshore areas to fishing and the capture of sturgeon. In the Late Woodland component of this site, post molds were found that have been interpreted as supporting a possible roasting and smoking structure for sturgeon (Vargo and Vargo 1986).

There are tales of Atlantic salmon in the river, tales which began with the 1609 journal of Henry Hudson's Ship's Officer Robert Juet, who reported "great stores of salmon" in the river (Jameson 1909:21). Since Atlantic salmon are October/November spawners, and the ship, Half Moon, and its crew were in the river in September, observing a number of fish species for the first time, it is believed that their identification was unreliable. They may have seen "great stores" of striped bass, weakfish, or bluefish. Despite the likely misidentification by the Dutch, salmon are coastal migrants and the proximity of "salmon rivers" in New England makes it quite probable that salmon occasionally wandered into the lower Hudson River. Late twentieth century studies by New York State fisheries' biologists discovered that

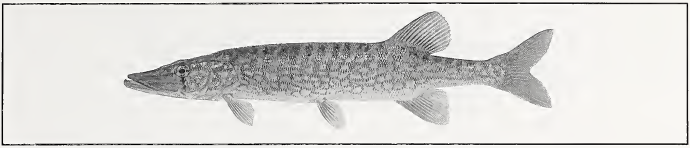

Figure 1.6. Chain pickerel were among resident fish which entered the Hudson's tributaries to spawn. (Ellen Edmonson, artist)

there is, at present, virtually no suitable spawning habitat for salmon in the Hudson River. Within the lower 154 miles the river is a tidal basin, essentially at sea level, with summer water temperatures that exceed the comfort zone for juvenile salmon. The only marginally acceptable area identified was a short reach of the Battenkill in Washington County. Stocking attempts with salmon in the late nineteenth century failed after two decades due to poor reproduction and over-fishing. If salmon appeared here in prehistory, they were likely a minor presence.

RIVER RESIDENTS MIGRATE WITHIN THE ESTUARY

Resident migrations, which occur within the estuary each spring, mimic the ocean migrations. Just as sea-run fish enter the Hudson to spawn, a process called anadromy, a number of resident species enter the tributaries on a spawning migration from the river. This is called potamodromy. For prehistoric peoples, these fish journeys also represented a fishing opportunity that began in early spring and lasted into early summer. Among these migrating resident fish were pumpkinseed and redbreast sunfish, yellow perch, white sucker, white perch, white catfish and other bullhead catfishes such as brown bullhead, and chain pickerel (Figure 1.6.). Today these species represent a mix of river and tributary residents.

Among the resident species in the Hudson there is one that deserves special note, the shortnose sturgeon. These are a smaller relative of the Atlantic sturgeon, with a significantly different life history. Although these fish are known to venture out to sea occasionally, they are considered to be an estuarine species, residents of their natal river. The shortnose was a major commercial fish over-exploited for much of the first half of the twentieth century. At the same time, the healthy balance in many estuaries along the North Atlantic coast was declining due to industrial waste and habitat loss. As a result, the shortnose became rare and eventually earned the endangered species status it has today.

A subtle interpretation of prehistory rests on the ability of archaeologists to differentiate between the sea-run Atlantic sturgeon and the resident shortnose when sturgeon remains are encountered in archeological settings. When alive these fish pose much less of a dilemma to identify: The Atlantic sturgeon can be huge, the shortnose, by comparison is small, rarely exceeding three feet in length and twenty pounds in weight (Figure 1.7.). Even as juveniles, they are sufficiently morphologically different from the Atlantic sturgeon to be identified. Both are culinary delights, however, particularly smoked, and their eggs are revered as caviar. Despite their differences in size, their scutes, the part of their skeletons most resistant to decomposition, appear to be almost identical. There are a few avenues of investigation that can shed light on identification. If the scutes are almost frisbee-size, the

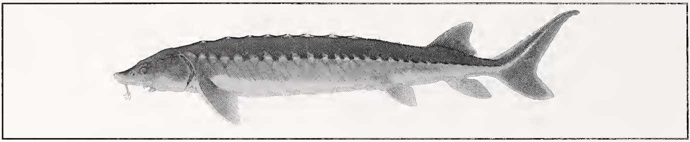

Figure 1.7. An important food source for native people in the past, the shortnose sturgeon shown was a year-round estuary resident. (Hugh Chrisp, artist)

fish has to be an Atlantic sturgeon; however, if the scute is palm-size or smaller, the identity is much less certain. A bit of evidence that can suggest identification is seasonal availability. The sea-run Atlantic sturgeon is primarily a late spring or early summer visitor, while the shortnose is a year round resident. If the seasonality of a prehistoric site with sturgeon remains can be established through the presence of other seasonal items denoting a fall or winter camp, the remains are more likely to be from a shortnose.

Archaeological evidence for a bountiful Hudson River in prehistory converges from many sources. There is the analogy of the modern estuary and the logical association with its past. There are the numerous archaeological data documented over nearly a century attesting to the river's role in prehistoric lifeways. As in a park after a Fourth of July picnic, the residue of many a fish feast has been found buried *in situ* along the river from the Adirondacks to the sea.

A SPECIAL TIME ON THE RIVER

Spring fishing camps must have been a time of contentment. The group had survived another long, cold winter, the river was warming, and the "cooperative" (the river) was open for business. It is possible to visualize the fishing station at Esopus Meadows, RM87, about 4,000 years ago. There might be a dozen thatched wigwams arranged in a roughly circular pattern. A low hum of voices from women cooking fish and shellfish amidst blue woodsmoke would rise from several hearths and stone ovens. The smells of good food would fill the air. Other members of the group would likely be busy in net-making or in net-mending, or would be in woodworking areas, where new dugout canoes were being fashioned from logs. Small children would be laughing and running along the shore, domesticated wolf pups yipping at their heels. At the edge of camp, a few people would be feeding hemlock boughs to smoky fires over which fresh hides would be stretched. Several cleaned and plucked wild turkeys could be hung from a pole nearby, waiting their turn to be smoked, using the fragrant pignut. Long ragged skeins of Canada Geese and Snow Geese headed north overhead. The chatter of birds and the "fire" color of orioles would highlight the trees under a cloudless blue sky; a white blanket of shadbush bloomed all around.

On the broad floodplain, several dugout canoes would be drawn up on the beach ahead of the rising tide. Families and clans would have set up fish processing racks and smokehouses. (They would have avoided the initial processing of fish and game too near where they were living in deference to black bears and wolves.) Some people would be tending fish weirs made of saplings bound with natural fibers; others would be collecting freshwater mussels from the shallows. Groups of adolescent males and adults would be dragging long nets out of the river, spilling hundreds of river herring and scores of shad onto the beach. Osprey would swoop down to the river's edge to grab those that were floating away. Nearby, several adult bald eagles would perch on snags waiting their turn at an easy fish dinner.

In time, after the spring spawning migration of shad and herring ended, members of the group would gather up their belongings and head downriver, where the promise of blue crabs, shellfish, and ocean fish awaited them. They would not return to their fish processing spot until next spring, when the pussy willow's catkins emerged.

SUMMER

In the lower reach of the river where brackish water broadened the subsistence base, both fish and shellfish provided seasonal opportunities. It has been estimated that there was enough salinity in the tidewater Hudson to support oysters by 7,000 years ago (Claassen 1995:139). The shell-heaps which are the aftermath of prehistoric oyster processing are nearly impossible to avoid along the river south of the Hudson Highlands. It was as though at various times the lower forty miles of the Hudson, from Verplanck's Point to New York Harbor, was one long oyster reef (Schaper 1989). Recent side-scan sonar investigations by the Lamont-Doherty Earth Observatory seems to confirm that likelihood (Robin Bell, personal communications, 2002).

Louis Brennan reported extensively on the presence of shell middens in the lower Hudson from New York Harbor forty-six miles north to Bear Mountain (1963:56;1974:412). Brennan identified giant oysters, many measuring 7" in height, from several location in Haverstraw Bay: these were radiocarbon dated to 6950 ± 100 years B.P. Brennan speculates that the initial oyster midden deposits along the river may extend back to the late Pleistocene era (1974:412). Oyster valves (shells) have been found well upriver of their likely range, indicating collecting forays by prehistoric peoples. From the Bannerman's Island site in Dutchess County (RM58), oyster valves were dated to 6150 ± 120 years B.P. (Brennan 1974:418). Oyster valves of obvious antiquity have been recovered from a mid-river shoal called Diamond Reef at New Hamburg (RM67.5) and from the North Rockshelter at Bowdoin Park a mile upriver, dating to 7170 ± 200 years BP (Funk 1976).

The quahog, or hardshell clam, well known in Colonial times for its use in wampum, was apparently a much traded item, as it has been found in many upriver sites with a variety of temporal settings, such as Fourmile Point in Greene County, RM 121 miles from New York Harbor's Upper Bay. There it was found among resident aquatic species such as yellow perch and freshwater mussels (Reifler and Lindner 2000). Freshwater mussels, such as the Eastern elliptio, were also a common foraging commodity. They were also found at the Tamarack site (Vargo and Vargo 1986) and Sylvan Lake Rockshelter (Funk 1976:171), both in Dutchess County.

The blue crab may have been a major food item for prehistoric peoples. Unlike mollusks, however, the exoskeleton of the blue crab does not survive well in the archaeological record. Their presence in the Hudson today has a tenuous link to the prevailing climate of the region. Their abundance or scarcity in summer seems to be associated with the severity of the previous winter. Heavy inshore ice in the shallows of the lower estuary appears to crush many yearling blue crabs, reducing the number of those available for harvest the following summer. For prehistoric peoples, the presence of blue crabs may have been one of the less predictable aquatic resources.

Another potential line of evidence for the prehistoric acquisition and processing of Hudson River fish is the analysis of blood protein residue on stone tools, pioneered by Thomas Loy and James Dixon with Paleoindian fluted points (1998). When a stone tool is used to butcher a mammal or clean a fish, the blood protein residue clings to the microscopic facets of the blade. Even thousands of years later, this residue remains and can be collected for analysis. It has been found even on polished museum specimens. While this method has yet to be tried for the Hudson River, its potential has been demonstrated in sister river systems such as the Delaware and Susquehanna.

Blood protein residue analyses focus on hemoglobin crystals. Like snowflakes and fingerprints, each family, genera, and even species has its own unique signature. From a multicomponent site on the Susquehanna, dating from 8,000 years ago to the Late Woodland period, forty stone tools were analyzed for identifiable blood protein residue. Of these, there were thirty-five positives for fish processing. These included American eel, brook trout, and bullhead (Jacoby 1998). From the Puncheon Run site on the Delaware, forty-one stone tools produced seven positives for the processing of striped bass, Atlantic croaker, and American eel (Jacoby 1999).

The prehistoric middens, or shell matrices, of the lower Hudson also provide evidence of both resident species and summer marine visitors. Among these at Dogan Point (RM 39.5) are bullhead, white perch, striped bass, American eel, "cod" (likely Atlantic tomcod), and black sea bass (Claassen 1995:75). Shellfish found at Dogan Point include common oyster, ribbed mussel, softshell clam, northern quahog, surf clam, whelk, and blue crab (Claassen 1995:66). With the exception of the whelk, which must have been imported from the coast, all of these species continue to occur in historic times in these locations (Dovel, et al. 1977:99).

A typical summer season in the lower reach of the Hudson today has salinities averaging approximately from a third to a half the strength of seawater, allowing ocean species to venture in. Here large schools of juvenile and adult bluefish chase even larger schools of an ocean herring called the Atlantic menhaden. At times, several acres of the surface will explode as the predators pursue prey. Osprey drop from the sky like pelicans to grab the leftovers. A series of loud snorts heralds the presence of a pod of harbor porpoises, often called "puffing pigs," also here to gorge themselves on whatever they can catch, including the bluefish. The sharp tang of salt on the warm breezes of summer and the sound of gulls in the air could lead a watcher to imagine he is on an ocean beach fifty miles away. There is no reason to believe that this beach scene was not as common in prehistory. Inshore bluecrabbers today also find a variety of edible marine species in their traps, including weakfish, spot, mullet, Spanish mackerel, northern kingfish, Atlantic croaker, summer flounder and hickory shad.

AUTUMN

A number of fabled trout streams enter the Hudson River today, among them the Esopus, Rondout, and Battenkill. In prehistory there likely were scores of such cold water creeks that contained brook trout and the only minnow of a size that would attract attention, the fallfish. In the seventeenth century, several well-populated trout streams even crisscrossed Manhattan Island. Not all sea-run fish spawn in spring. The Atlantic tomcod spawned in the river from the North Atlantic in late autumn. In a cooler prehistoric Hudson, these mini-codfish may have been present in large numbers. In recent times, for many reasons, including power generating stations and various land-use practices, the river has warmed to the point where some North Atlantic boreal species such as smelt and tomcod may soon find the river unsuitable for spawning.

In autumn, mature American eels the size of a strongman's arm descend the watershed from the uplands to the Hudson and then go to sea for their only spawning run. In this life stage, the eel, with a body that is ivory white ventrally and black dorsally, is known as the silver eel. This is our only fish that goes from fresh to saltwater to spawn, a life history called catadromy. Between the time eels enter the river as yearlings and before they leave for the sea fifteen to twenty-five years later as adults, they go though a series of life stages, from glass eel to elver to yellow eel, all of which are fair game for fishermen. As a result, the American eel has been a major dinner entreé for Hudson Valley peoples for 10,000 years.

The availability of blue crabs and other shellfish in pre-historic times no doubt went well into the fall months, providing variety to go with late autumn and early winter fish species. In addition, in the lower twenty-five to thirty miles of the Hudson, winter flounder and several codfishes—red hake, spotted hake, and white hake—arrived at their wintering grounds. Against a backdrop of incredible autumn colors—there were far more brilliantly colored sugar maples in the Hudson Valley in prehistory than today—and the fall raptor migration—featuring thousands of eagles, hawks, falcons, and vultures—foragers waded the shallows, turned over rocks and collected shellfish. Their nets came up on the beach bulging with wintering striped bass, some as large as five feet long and weighing eighty pounds. These would be monsters by today's standards.

WINTER

Ice did not seem to be a deterrent to fishing for prehistoric peoples. The *Jesuit Relations* recount how the Huron in Canada would lower their seines through holes cut in the ice to capture fish, including sturgeon, probably lake sturgeon (Tooker 1991:63-64). The first Europeans in the Hudson Valley learned to fish through the ice, a practice that endured until the middle of the twentieth century. The newcomers were probably willing students of the valley's Indian population. The prehistoric Hudson was replete with tidemarshes, extensive enbayments, and long reaches that froze solid enough to cross on foot from early winter until early spring. With an eye on the tidal currents, with the techniques used on winter lakes, and with the knowledge of where certain fish wintered, prehistoric peoples had no problem catching fish through the ice.

Shortnose sturgeon winter in a three mile reach of the river in shallow water, much of which is no more than fifteen feet deep. The sturgeon are stacked on the bottom by the hundreds like the proverbial "cordwood." In January and February a modern fisherman could cut a fifty-foot slot in the ice, lower a net on slack tide, and be smoking sturgeon on the shore within an hour, all with far less innate knowledge about where the fish are and how the system works than the people who lived here thousands of years ago.

Another freshwater fish of periglacial origin found in the Hudson River watershed today is the lake trout. Much of the trout's range today, however, has occurred through stocking programs. Present day anglers catch them through the ice in Lake George along with stocked Atlantic salmon. These native salmonids may have been present in cold water post-glacial lakes in the Hudson River watershed providing winter ice fishing opportunities for prehistoric peoples.

Above all, these aquatic resources were dependable. Before the historic period railroads girding the river on both sides were installed, the Hudson was bordered by wetlands that buffered the valuable inshore shellfish beds from storms and storm surge. Without the seductive lure of warm water discharge from power generating facilities and other industry, the river temperature was also dependable. Although prehistoric peoples cut trees and tilled the soil, it is unlikely that the uplands were ever damaged to the extent they are today. When a drop of rain fell a mile inland, it may never have reached the river. Today, storm events turn the river brown with sediment loads.

SUMMARY

It has been pointed out by some archaeologists that there is a dearth of evidence for fishing in the Hudson River, although sturgeon scales and other fish bones are present in collections from a number of sites along the river. Fish bones often are not found in archaeological contexts for reasons of poor preservation and, until fairly recently, few people were looking for them. It has been estimated that ninety-five per cent of all prehistoric American Indian artifacts were perishable. Therefore today's researchers are left to interpret the landscape with the remaining five percent. Most of early man's tools, from hooks to harpoons to nets, were constructed of perishable materials such as bone, antler, wood, and natural fibers. Although these tools have disappeared, there is ample evidence of fishing in items such as netsinkers, stone tools made of resistant chert, quartzite, and other types of lithic (stone) material. These are particularly common along the watershed's tributaries. The rise in sea level since the first fisherman walked along the river has been significant enough to suggest that at least some of the missing evidence, such as weirs, fish traps, smoking platforms, and processing stations, is now submerged.

Despite the wealth of information on the prehistory of the river, one only to has to look at the railroads that gird the Hudson, and at the communities and industry built right up to the high tide mark, to know that modern changes have cost far more of the archaeological record than can be known. In a conventional archaeological setting there might be as much as five per cent left to analyze. Along the Hudson, to find as much as five per cent would probably be a bonus.

Using analogy to project the past does not come without risks. The physical dimensions and the flow of the ancestral Hudson have varied over time, as has the extent of intrusion of saltwater. This ancestral Hudson was not a Garden of Eden, but it was a veritable "fish market" in nearly all seasons. Perhaps owing to its location in the temperate North Atlantic region, the Hudson River has provided a magical and sustaining mix of fresh and saltwater fish and shellfish for at least 10,000 years.

ACKNOWLEGMENTS

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APPENDIX

Table 1.1. The "Fish Market" in prehistory

Periglacial Origin

1. lake chub, *Couesius plumbeus*
2. longnose sucker, *Catostomus catostomus*
3. northern pike, *Esox lucius*
4. lake herring, *Coregonus artedi*
5. lake whitefish, *Coregonus clupeaformis*
6. round whitefish, *Prosopium cylindraceum*
7. brook trout, *Salvelinus fontinalis*
8. lake trout, *Salvelinus namaycush*
9. slimy sculpin, *Cottus cognatus*
10. yellow perch, *Perca flavescens*

Temperate marine

1. Atlantic menhaden, *Brevoortia tyrannus*
2. red hake, *Urophycis chuss*
3. spotted hake, *Urophycis regia*
4. oyster toadfish, *Opsanus tau*
5. black sea bass, *Centropristis striata*
6. bluefish, *Pomatomus saltatrix*
7. weakfish, *Cynoscion regalis*
8. spot, *Leiostomus xanthurus*
9. northern kingfish, *Menticirrhus saxatilis*
10. Atlantic croaker, *Micropogonias undulatus*
11. striped mullet, *Mugil cephalus*
12. white mullet, *Mugil curema*
13. Spanish mackerel, *Scomberomorus maculatus*
14. summer flounder, *Paralichthys dentatus*
15. winter flounder, *Pleuronectes americanus*

Anadromous/Diadromous

1. Atlantic sturgeon, *Acipenser oxyrinchus*
2. blueback herring, *Alosa aestivalis*
3. Hickory shad, *Alosa mediocris*
4. alewife, *Alosa pseudoharengus*
5. American shad, *Alosa sapidissima*
6. rainbow smelt, *Osmerus mordax*
7. Atlantic salmon, *Salmo salar*
8. Atlantic tomcod, *Microgadus tomcod*
9. striped bass, *Morone saxatilis*

Catadromous

American eel, *Anguilla rostrata*

Resident/Estuarine

1. shortnose sturgeon, *Acipenser brevirostrum*
2. fallfish, *Semotilus corporalis*
3. white sucker, *Catostomus commersoni*
4. white catfish, *Ameiurus catus*
5. yellow bullhead, *Ameiurus natalis*
6. brown bullhead, *Ameiurus nebulosus*
7. chain pickerel, *Esox niger*
8. white perch, *Morone americana*
9. redbreast sunfish, *Lepomis auritus*
10. pumpkinseed, *Lepomis gibbosus*

Shellfish

1. whelk, *Busycon sp.*
2. ribbed mussel, *Modiolus demissus*
3. freshwater mussel, *Elliptio complanata*
4. softshell clam, *Mya arenaria*
5. northern quahog, *Mercenaria mercenaria*
6. surf clam, *Spisula lateralis*
7. Atlantic blue crab, *Callinectes sapidus*
8. common oyster, *Crassostrea virginica*

CHAPTER 2

SETTLEMENTS ALONG THE KINDERHOOK

By Ernest R. Rugenstein (2004)

On July 17, 2003, Judy Harris of the National Park Service, Terry D'Amour, President of the Native American Institute of the Hudson River Valley and Ernest R. Rugenstein, a Trustee of the Native American Institute, picked-up thirteen boxes of ancient artifacts from the Columbia County Historical Society (CCHS), of Kinderhook, New York. These boxes were known as the Magee Collection, having been assembled by Seymour R. Magee, a native of the Kinderhook area of Columbia County, New York, between 1908 and 1992. The three researchers were unsure of what was in each box; however, they were aware that the collection contained projectile points, hammerstones, and other artifacts.

The Columbia County Historical Society received the collection in late 1993 and early 1994 from Michael Laccetti, a friend of the late Mr. Magee. Mr. Laccetti initially surveyed and partially cataloged the collection before turning it over to the Society. The collection otherwise had remained untouched for many years. Members of the Historical Society had a desire to catalog and display these artifacts and to use the collection for educational programs for children and adults. Unfortunately this had not been possible in the past. However, with the introduction of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Columbia County Historical Society, the National Park Service's Martin Van Buren National Historic Site, and the Native American Institute, it became a reality for the three organizations to join forces to work together on projects of interest to the entire group.

Investigating the Magee collection was the first project attempted under the new MOU. Through the memorandum each member organization would benefit from the study of the collection: The Columbia County Historical Society (CHS) would have unaccessioned and undocumented artifacts accessioned, cataloged, documented, and prepared for a number of different types of exhibitions. Members of the Native American Institute (NAI) would not only provide expertise to the project but the organization would benefit from examination and study of the Native American artifacts, a study which would not only concern the artifacts' cultural and historical significance but also their anthropological and archeological importance. The Martin Van Buren National Historic Site (NPS) also would benefit from the investigation of the Magee collection. Staff members were interested in learning more about Mohicans and other early Native Americans who lived in and around the National Park Service land. Kinderhook area park staff wished to include Mohican history in the interpretation of the Martin Van Buren Historic Site.

In preparation, team members talked to

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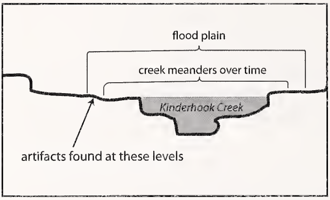


Figure 2.1. The diagram, a cross-section of the Kinderhook Creek, shows how the flooding creek cut into its banks and changed channels.

other area archaeologists and researched area archaeology (Ritchie 1958, 1980; Trigger 1978). The team also studied the topography of the collection's locations and personally visited the areas involved. They investigated the collector's life and talked to his close friend, Mr. Laccetti. Seymour "Spider" Magee, the collector, owned property south of the village of Kinderhook and on Kinderhook Creek. Most of his collection came from surface scatter picked up over seven decades of farming, fishing and hiking along his property on the creek. A large number of the artifacts he found were unearthed after years of plowing, and, therefore, they have scrapes and nicks across them. The general area where the collection was found includes a flood plain within which the river has historically re-located itself.

According to another close friend of Mr. Magee, who is an anonymous fellow collector (Mr. T.S.), the alluvial location, which is below a 200 foot elevation, is where a large number of the artifacts were found. The majority, he said, came from the east side of the creek near the Martin Van Buren National Historical Site, on land historically owned by Martin Van Buren. This information raises a number of questions about why artifacts were concentrated there. Topographical maps of the area demonstrate that the creek's bed meandered a great deal within short periods of time. A cross-section of the creek (Figure 2.1.) indicates that during high water, the creek routinely cut back into its banks. Maps from 1903 and 1933 topographical surveys show that the 200 foot elevation has retreated 1000 feet or more and that the creek has meandered within that space.

However, the 1980 survey shows less drastic change over a longer period. This alteration could be attributed to flood controls and changed patterns of water use in the last fifty years. Though the recent changes are less dramatic than previous known changes, some evidence of the creek's modern meandering remains. For example, a number of ox-bow ponds now have developed. Because the 200 foot elevation is within the flood level, the creek could conceivably have covered, at one time or another, the general area where the artifacts were collected. When the project team went to a random location which recently had been plowed along the creek, team members within a short time observed a significant amount of lithic scatter over an area roughly the size of a football field. The stone tools and debris included various pieces of projectile points, hammerstones, knives, and flakes. This test location on the plain (see Figure 2.2.) was well within the 200 foot elevation and in the area where Kinderhook creek would have expanded and contracted over time.

When reviewing the data from the Magee collection, and when correlating this data with locations where the collection was found, questions arose. Included were: What do the artifacts of the Magee collection tell about occupation of the area along Kinderhook Creek, and did the meandering of the creek have an impact on the quantity and category of artifacts which were found? These and other dilemmas were considered when analyzing the data from the collection.

Two members of the team worked from mid-July to September, 2003, at the NPS site examining and cataloging each artifact. Cataloging was done in two phases. During the

Figure 2.2. A typical landscape along the Kinderhook Creek is shown in this photograph taken from the 200 foot elevation.

first phase a general survey and primary classification was accomplished (Table 2.1). Each box in the collection was given a number and within each box the artifacts were bagged according to their type and classification (Madison, Projectile Point, and so on) after which each bag was numbered. This general classification phase, in some cases, was simply verification of an earlier classification by Mr.Laccetti and in other cases it involved an initial classification. In addition, during this phase pieces of debitage were inspected and in some cases projectile pieces were reviewed and tested for completeness. Verifications and classifications of the artifacts were accomplished using known scholarly texts, journals and other works. Ritchie's monographs (1971,1994), including both text and plates, were used extensively in this process.

The collection contained a total of 1034 artifacts (Table 2.1.). Of this number 318 pieces or 30% were subsequently typed and dated, 22% of the collection was debitage, while the rest of the collection was typed but not dated.

The pieces of the collection which could be dated were found to be from the early archaic period to the late woodland period. These included projectile points, spear points and related pieces. Examples of point types were of Lamoka, Jacks Reef, Genesee, Bare Island, and Madison. Other artifacts were scrapers, hammerstones, celts, gouges, pestles, mullers, ulus, knives, blades, and drills. (Figures 2.3 and 2.4) Photographs were taken to document the identification process. In addition, "test shots" were made of various artifacts in the collection that were to be analyzed later to determine which pieces should be photographed for future use.

The second phase of the investigation involved a closer inspection of the collection and a further separation of the artifacts. After

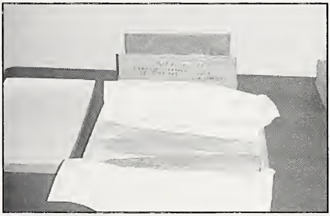


Figure 2.3. Boxed artifacts included gouges from the Kinderhook Creek area.

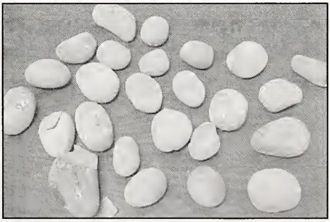


Figure 2.4. Many hammerstones were found among artifacts in the Magee Collection.

Table 2.1 General Inventory of the Magee Collection

Inventoried by Terry D'Amour and E. R. .Rugenstein August 5, 2003

Box	Bag	Type	Number
1	1	Large Spears	10
1	2	Jacks reef	1
1	3	Brewerton Not	25
1	4	Genesee Pts.	4
1	5	Brewerton C. N.	13
1	6	Brewerton E.N.	7
1	7	Brewerton S.N.	45
1	8	Bare Island	4
1	9	Lamoka	36
1	10	Levana	41
1	11	Madison Pts.	64
1	12	Oriental Fishtail	28
1	13	Snook Kill	20
1	14	Vosburg pts.	30
1	15	Untyped	26
2	1	Strike-a-light	4
2	2	Broken points	24
2	3	Possible Knives	23
2	In Box Loose	Debitage	66
3	1	Triangular Pts.	5
3	2	Plain Bases	5
3	3	Pos. Scrapers	4
3	4	Side-N. Bases	4
3	5	Broken Pts.	42
4	1	Broken Pts.	99
4	In Box Loose	Debitage	93
5	In Box Loose	Adzes/Celt	3
6	In Box Loose	Anvil Stone	1
6	In Box Loose	Mullers	1
6	In Box Loose	Hammer Stones	2
7	1	Preform Knives	16
7	2	Strike-a-Lights	4
7	3	Small Knives	21
7	4	Large Knives	10
7	5	Broad Knives	11
8	1	Broken Pts	46
8	2	Mixed Pieces	15
8	In Box Loose	Debitage	78
9	In Box Loose	Cylindrical Pes	2
9	In Box Loose	Choppers	2
10	In Box Loose	Celt	1
10	In Box Loose	Gouges	3
11	1	Anvil Stones	5
11	2	Anvil Stones	4
11	3	Conical Pestle	1
11	3	Mullers	9
11	4	Anvil Stones	8
12	In Box Loose	Hammer Stones	25
13	1	Drills	20
13	2	Side Scraper/Ulu	3
13	3	Perforators	3
13	4	Scraper Pre-F	16
13	5	Net Sinker	1
		TOTAL	**1034**

reviewing test photographs, the most representative pieces were selected to be re-photographed, and measured. These pieces would be used in educational programs or put on exhibit: The digital photographs were to be used for pamphlets, compact-discs, power point presentations, and other publications. Measurements were taken using a dial-caliper. From the test photographs a number of artifacts were selected for further investigation because of significant attributes which were suitable for presentation and museum exhibition.

To insure proper cataloging of the specimens, the dimensions of the artifacts, especially the projectile points, were compared to known dimensions from Ritchie (1971, 1994). In addition, surface characteristics of each artifact were evaluated, such as luster, shine, sharpness of edges, type of chert or flint used, and plow damage, where applicable, with an eye toward possible past uses as non-projectile-point artifacts (Hothem 1983; Fox 2003). Additionally, notes were taken on these pieces. Weight was not a variable which was measured.

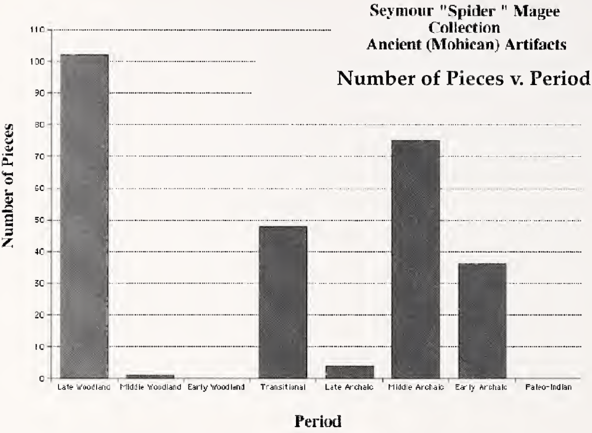
Further inspection of the various datable artifacts led to new observations: It became apparent that there were gaps in the collection during various periods. For example, Table 2 illustrates that the Paleo-Indian period and the Early Woodland period are not represented in any datable artifacts and that the number of artifacts found from the Late Archaic and Middle Woodland periods is negligible. It is not surprising that the Late Woodland period has the highest number of points. This is the most recent period and it would be expected that if a native population were active in this area the number of artifacts would reflect this. What is surprising is that no artifacts were found representing the Early Woodland period. Fewer artifacts might be expected but it seems there should be a representative sample during all periods if a population was present. The other unusual situation is the large number of points, relatively speaking, found from the Middle Archaic period.

Table 2.2 reveals a corollary between the various periods and the presence or absence of datable artifacts. The connection to the movement of the creek becomes evident. Since Kinderhook Creek has demonstrated a propensity to meander across its flood plain over time, this process could account for an absence of artifacts including projectile points. The evidence suggests that the area where the Magee collection was gathered could periodically have been under water during the Early Woodland period. Further, this could suggest that the Paleo-Indian artifacts were not found in the area along the river because the location of those settlements might have been washed away as the creek meandered.

However, there are other possible explanations. It is also feasible that during the Paleo-Indian period the settlements may have been farther away from the present day location of the creek, which may have been shallower and broader during that period. An assumption that the absence of datable points from the Early Woodland and Paleo-Indian periods indicates an absence of a native population, although possible, seems improbable. Of the eight periods represented, four show a relatively high degree of human use. Although the collection does not make a definitive statement of where or when settlements might have been located along the banks of the Kinderhook, it does strongly suggest the past presence of resident populations.

In consequence, despite the questions it raises, the Magee collection is an important window into past life in the area south of present Kinderhook village, along the Kinderhook Creek. The collection points to locations and long periods in which there were settlements or related uses when permitted by the creek's meandering or flooding.

Table 2.2 Seymour "Spider" Magee Collection Ancient (Mohican) Artifacts



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CHAPTER 3

EXPRESSIONS OF COMMUNITY: RECONSTRUCTING NATIVE IDENTITY IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CENTRAL CONNECTICUT THROUGH LAND DEED ANALYSIS

Timothy H. Ives (2004)

In the latter half of the seventeenth century, representatives of Native American communities in central Connecticut were presented with occasions to gather and leave their mark on the documentary record. This record consists of land deeds generated by Puritan authorities as they planned an expansion of settlement throughout the region. Some are "confirmatory deeds" that renewed an original purchase of town land with current native populations, while additional deeds were used to secure other areas of land. These deeds, which often bear some of the same marks from one area to the next, have been interpreted as expressions of community. This paper provides a partial reconstruction, or glimpse, of the social network that connected communities throughout, and beyond, the region, while documenting its underlying social structures, including consensus in political decision-making, fluid identity between communities, a pronounced female association with land rights, and exogamous marriage-bonds. This study is achieved through social network analysis, a methodological approach focusing on the social linkages among individuals and groups. The analysis is presented from an ethno-historical perspective and is largely founded upon a catalog of Native American names compiled from land deeds, most of which date from 1660-1680.

Before the central analysis is presented, a review of the social and political evolution of central Connecticut during the early colonial period may be helpful. The sociopolitical landscape was initially characterized by a sharing of space and resources by Puritan and Native American agricultural villages (ca. 1634-1650), but, after mid-century, the Connecticut Colony, asserting itself as the dominant proprietary authority in the region (ca. 1650-1680), expedited the establishment of native land reservations.

PURITAN VILLAGES IN A NATIVE LANDSCAPE (CA. 1634-1650)

Smallpox broke out in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1633 and spread among the occupants of southern New England. The disease moved through central Connecticut during the winter and spring of 1634, killing approximately eighty percent of the region's Native American population (Oberg 2003:44-45). The number of communities was likely reduced as survivors consolidated, securing themselves against the potentially hostile elements of a highly competitive fur trading economy.

By 1634, the Bay Colony was becoming crowded, and several towns petitioned the General Court to relocate (Vaughn 1995:116).

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The Connecticut River Valley had already been recognized by many Bay colonists as an attractive place for settlement, and the plague's effects were interpreted as an act of God, meant to clear the land for their benefit (Winthrop 1943, 3:167). The emigration that followed has been characterized as opportunistic, being prosecuted with the "understanding that the Indians were swept away with the late great mortality, the fear of whom was an obstacle before, which was now being taken away" (Bradford 1989:280). Although disagreements over religious philosophy may have been a factor for leaders of this migration (McManis 1975:42-43), the general motivation among these settlers was a desire for more space and good agricultural land (Lewis 1981).

In the wake of the 1633-1634 plague, Bay colony emigrants established three agricultural village settlements in central Connecticut: Wethersfield in 1634/35, Windsor in 1635, and Hartford in 1636 (Tarbox 1886:31-35). These constituted the original Colony of Connecticut (Figure 3.1.). The settlers chose the low, open land, which was in great abundance north of what is now Middletown, where the valley was wide, providing the land deemed necessary for the pasturage of village herds (Lewis 1981:26). These villages, formally organized by the Fundamental Order as towns in 1639 (Daniels 1979:182), were characterized by organized nucleated settlement, with home lots strung out along a single main street (Lewis 1981:44). They remained relatively well contained until mid-century, as Puritan leaders wished to ensure security against possible native threats. The young Connecticut Colony consumed most of its own agricultural produce in a largely internal economy (Daniels 1979:140).

Despite the plague's devastation, central Connecticut was by no means vacant. The Puritans entered into a politically dynamic landscape composed of numerous Native American communities. A native community could be characterized as "a group of people sharing a territory, in which their occasionally shifting settlements are located and having as their political leaders one or several sachems, with important contributions from other individuals" (Johnson 1999:158). The local native communities cannot necessarily be represented as dots on a map (see Figure 3.1.). The Algonquian place names depicted on this map designate areas desirable for native settlement, areas that were most likely occupied on the eve of European settlement. All are located along major waterways navigable by canoe and contain floodplains well suited for agriculture.

PURITANS ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Although the Puritan emigrants claimed ownership of this region from the General Court of Massachusetts and the Warwick Patent, they still had to establish diplomatic relations with local native leaders to secure settlement rights. The Puritans, on arrival, were likely perceived as potential political allies and direct sources for trade goods, during a time when Dutch, English, and Pequot interests had all converged on their portion of the Connecticut River as a conduit for trade (McBride 1994:35).

The Wethersfield settlers at Pyquag negotiated with the resident sachem, Sequin, alias Sowheag (Speiss 1933), presenting gifts in exchange for permission to settle (*Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* [hereafter cited as PRCC], 1:5). Not long after this, a serious misunderstanding was precipitated between the two parties as Sequin "set down his wigwam" in close proximity to the Puritans who "drave him away by force" (Winthrop 1996, 1:252). Sequin subsequently relocated his residence to Mattabesett (now Middletown) and engaged the Connecticut Colony in an adversarial relationship that would last into the 1640s (Ives 2001:17-22). This relationship would be amended shortly before his death occurred around 1649 (Trumbull 1886:108), when he gave permission to Governor Hayes to settle at Mattabesett.

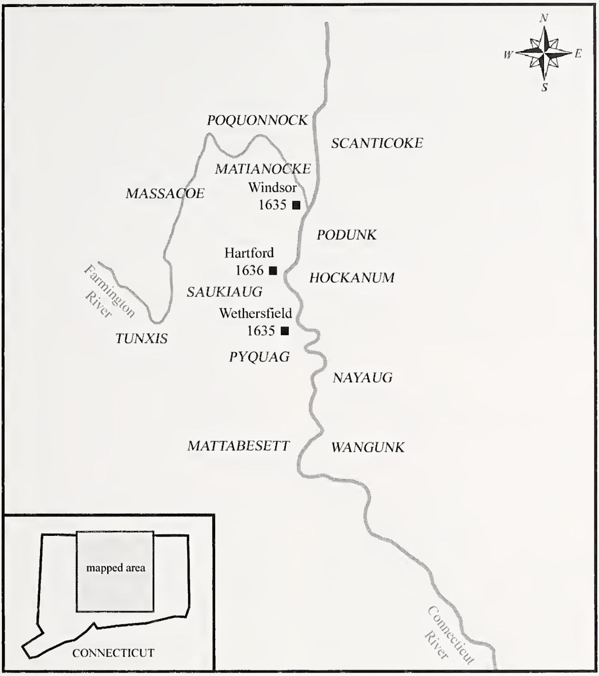
N
W
E
S
POQUONNOCK
SCANTICOKE
MATIANOCKE
MASSACOE
Windsor
1635
PODUNK
Hartford
1636
HOCKANUM
SAUKIAUG
Farmington River
Wethersfield
1635
TUNXIS
PYQUAG
NAYAUG
MATTABESETT
WANGUNK
mapped area
CONNECTICUT
Connecticut River

Figure 3.1. Central Connecticut's Native American settlement localities as well as the first Puritan villages were located near to, or on, the Connecticut River.

The Hartford settlers negotiated with Sequassen, who was the resident sachem of Saukiaug (Speiss 1933:14) and a son of Sequin (LaFantaise 1988, 1:107). Political relations between the Connecticut Colony and Sequassen were also adversarial. During the 1640's Sequassen would be implicated in a pan-native conspiracy to attack English plantations (Massachusetts Historical Society 1825 3rd Ser., 3:161), and he would also engage Uncas, the Mohegan sachem and ally of the Connecticut Colony, in competition for political power within the native community. After suffering defeat at the hands of Uncas, Sequassen, exiled from the region, lived for some time among his allies in Massachusetts, at Woranoak and Pocumtock. In 1650, the Connecticut Court of Commissioners allowed him to return to Saukiaug, at the request of the Mohawks (DeForest 1853:218-222).

The Windsor settlers joined a company of Plymouth traders who had established a trading post at Matianocke in 1633. The Plymouth traders had first negotiated with resident sachem Natawanute, who died during the 1634 plague (Speiss 1933:9, 28). Windsor authorities drew up a formal land deed in 1636, in association with a group of native representatives (Howard 1933:11-12). Two were from Poquonnock, two from Matianocke, and four from Mohegan, an extra regional community. The maintenance of a sociopolitical association between the residents of eastern Windsor and the Mohegans is evident into the latter half of the seventeenth century.

NATIVE VILLAGES IN A PURITAN LANDSCAPE (CA. 1650-1800)

Although the early English river towns were nucleated settlements, their sphere of resource procurement extended beyond the perimeter of improved lands, overlapping those of Native American populations. In regard to hunting and fishing, Puritans did not attempt to create a territorial division. In 1649, the Connecticut General Court confirmed the rights of natives to hunt and fish on lands within its jurisdiction, "For no Indians are deprived of that libberty in any of our Townes, provided they doe it not uppon the Sabath day." (Vaughn 1995:108-109). However, one territorial division was defined during the 1640's regarding the felling of trees. In February, 1641, the General Court banned this activity "within three myles of the mouth of Matabezeke river" (PRCC, 1:67), which suggests the maintenance of a political buffer zone between the river towns and Sequin's territory at Mattabesett.

As the mid-seventeenth century passed, Puritan expansion accelerated in the Connecticut Valley. Farmsteads were being established on the river's east side, within the bounds of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. These once well-contained Puritan villages were evolving into townships with outlying populations. Settlement also expanded southward, with the establishment of Middletown and Haddam, and westward with the establishment of Farmington (Figure 3.2.). This was primarily a function of population growth, but another factor was the gradual subsiding of fears of "Indian raids." Preparedness was taken less seriously, and the quality of the militia deteriorated steadily throughout the second half of the seventeenth century (Daniels 1979:133).

The management of a shared Native American-Puritan landscape became increasingly complex. The ever-growing herds of livestock became a problem for native communities, as the animals wandered into planting grounds, causing significant damage. In 1654, "Woodschacquts Squaw" complained to the Particular Court that her corn crops had been spoiled by pigs and cattle in the town of Wethersfield and also within the vicinity of Hockanum (Particular Court:129). In 1656, the Court awarded Seocut ten bushels of corn for damage done to his corn crop on the Connecticut River's east side (Particular Court:171). Corn was not only being defended as a native food source but also as a vital trade commodity in the wake of a locally collapsed beaver population.

Local natives found themselves under the supervision of a colonial government. In the late 1660's Connecticut's legislature brought native peoples within its boundaries into a state of accountability, backed by punishment. Breaches of the Sabbath and public drunkenness were punished with fines or confinement in the stocks. The General Court also intervened in tribal political matters. In 1661, it appointed a committee to end warfare between the "Farmington Indians" and the "Podunk Indians." The committee was to obtain the return of captives (PRCC, 2:371). Another committee was appointed in 1666 to

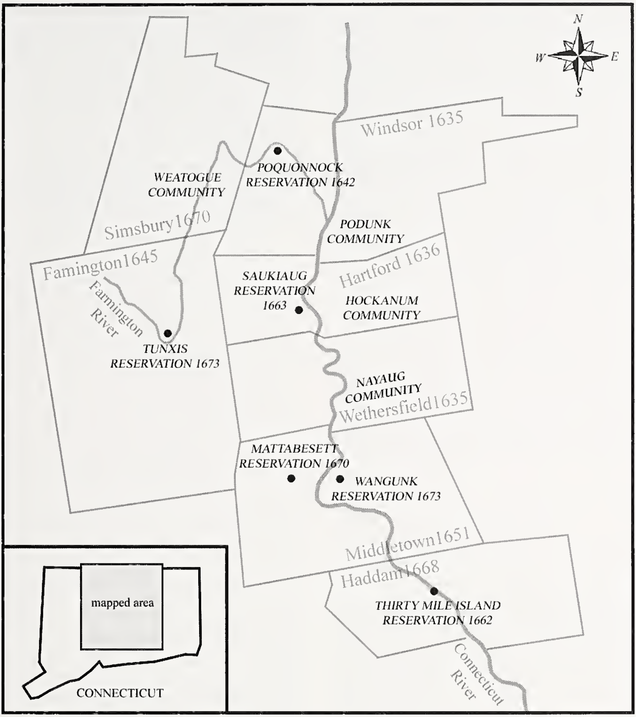
N
W
E
S
Windsor 1635
POQUONNOCK RESERVATION 1642
WEATOGUE COMMUNITY
Simsbury 1670
PODUNK COMMUNITY
Famington 1645
Hartford 1636
SAUKIAUG RESERVATION 1663
HOCKANUM COMMUNITY
Farmington River
TUNXIS RESERVATION 1673
NAYAUG COMMUNITY
Wethersfield 1635
MATTABESETT RESERVATION 1670
WANGUNK RESERVATION 1673
Middletown 1651
Haddam 1668
THIRTY MILE ISLAND RESERVATION 1662
Connecticut River
mapped area
CONNECTICUT

Figure 3.2. The map above shows central Connecticut towns, Native American land reservations or communities (approximate locations), and dates of incorporation prior to 1675.

settle a territorial hunting ground dispute between Podunk sachem, Arramamet, and Mohegan sachem, Uncas (PRCC, 3:41-43). As the control of English law was imposed on these original inhabitants, they were rendered second-class subjects of the Connecticut Colony (Oberg 2003:160).

NATIVES RELEGATED TO RESERVATIONS

Formal native land reservations were established throughout central Connecticut, under pressure from local townships wishing to lay out proprietors' lots (see Figure 3.2.). Native communities, with once shifting village locations, were charged to select permanent locales. The short-lived Poquonnock reservation was established in 1642 and sold off in 1659 (Stiles 1892, 1:125-126). The Saukiaug community's land base in Hartford's South Meadow was reserved by the town in 1663 (Hoadly 1897;141) and was retained into the 1720's (Love 1935:97). In 1673, the town of Farmington reserved 300 acres for the use of the Tunxis population (Feder 1982:33), and some of this land was retained and occupied into the nineteenth century. In 1670, Middletown established a forty-acre reservation for Sawsean and Siana at Mattabesett (Bayne 1884:495) which was vacated sometime after 1713 (Field 1853:35-36). In 1673, Middletown reserved 300 acres for the Wangunk (*Connecticut Archives, Indians,* 1st Ser. Vol.2, Doc.138; *Middletown Land Records,* 1:214;), who occupied and retained this land base through most of the eighteenth century. In the 1662 deed of Haddam, Thirty Mile Island was reserved for the local native population (Clark 1949:6-7), who retained it into the eighteenth century.

It appears that some indigenous communities did not receive formal land reservations. Among these are the Hockanum, who maintained a palisaded fort north of the Hockanum River in the seventeenth century (Love 1935:91). A community existed in that vicinity into the mid-eighteenth century (Ives 2001:91). Documentary evidence suggests the Nayaug constructed a fort during King Phillip's War (Speiss 1937:3; Ives 2001:34-36), and that they planted their crops on what was deemed town land. The Podunk, who also maintained a fort for some time, possessed a land base that was recognized by the Connecticut Colony, but the author is unaware of any land deed delineating its boundaries. The Podunk appear to have retained land rights until 1722 (Goodwin 1879:34). The author has not discovered evidence of formal land reservations for the aforementioned communities; however, the possibility of such reservations cannot be ruled out pending further research.

EXPRESSIONS OF COMMUNITY: NATIVE LAND DEEDS OF CENTRAL CONNECTICUT (CA. 1660-1680)

As the Puritans planned an expansion of settlement throughout the region, they produced numerous land deeds, most of which are dated between 1660 and 1680. Some were "confirmatory deeds" that renewed an original purchase of town land with current native populations, while other areas of land were secured through additional deeds.

From a selection of major land deeds, a catalog of Native American participants has been compiled, classifying individuals under their apparent titles as proprietors or witnesses (Table 3.1). Gender is also listed, when clearly specified in the documentary record. This catalog also includes names from the deed establishing a formal native land reservation at Wangunk, as well as a petition from the Tunxis to the General Assembly in defense of reservation boundaries. This catalog is used as a platform from which to observe the social network that interconnected communities throughout, and beyond, the region, while documenting the social structures behind this network. This catalog is a somewhat shaky platform, as these Algonquian names were phonetically interpreted and inconsistently spelled by Puritan scribes over three hundred years ago. Furthermore, the original residents of central Connecticut may have used more than one name, or changed names at some point (Bragdon 1996:170). With that being stated, the author has endeavored to interpret this data cautiously, using it to support the most basic of conclusions.

The catalog reveals operations of group consensus, as indicated by the emergence of contingents of native representatives. In earlier years, communities typically negotiated with Puritan leadership in a politically cautious manner, representing themselves through the sachem alone. But having entered into a period of increased familiarity, organized groups were expressing communally supported decisions in a more direct fashion. These decisions often involved family units, as evidenced by husband-wife, father-son, and mother-daughter pairings.

WOMEN HOLD LAND RIGHTS

A pronounced female association with land rights is also evident. The author interprets the participation of several native women in these negotiations as a prominent expression, standing in contrast to the paternalistic order of Puritan society. The ownership of all lands within Connecticut's towns was controlled by the proprietors, who were adult white males-typically the heads of families. They owned the town's land, and determined all land allotments (Daniels 1979:119). It is clear that the native proprietors who presided over the distribution of lands included women among their authorities, and Puritan representatives were made to recognize and record this.

Operations of group consensus and the recognition of female authority are the more easily apparent trends in this catalog of names. However, more deeply buried patterns are in evidence. These deeds often bear some of the same signatures, or marks, from one area to the next, which indicates a fluidity in community affiliation and political identity among some individuals.

An extensive degree of fluid identity was expressed by sachem Nessahegan. That the principal seat of his sachemdom was located in Windsor during the mid-seventeenth century is supported by land records identifying him as the sachem "of Paquinock" (Stiles 1892, 1:124-126), although his residence had changed to the Hartford vicinity by 1668 (Bates 1924:184). He inherited his sachemdom from his uncle, Sehat, who was a previous sachem in Windsor (Speiss 1933:28). Nessahegan was included in the leadership structure of the natives inhabiting Farmington. Not only did he sign the deed of Farmington, but he also signed a petition to the General Assembly defending the Tunxis reservation lands from encroachment by Farmington town members. His authority was also exerted among the indigenous population inhabiting Middletown, as he signed the deed of that town. His influence extended northward into Massachusetts, where he signed a deed for land in West Springfield, Massachusetts (Everts 1879, 1:19).

Another Native leader who expressed fluid identity was Seocutt. He appears to have been primarily affiliated with the Podunk and was recorded as having a wife in that community (Bates 1924:288). His influence was included among indigenous inhabitants of Farmington, Simsbury, and Wethersfield, as he marked land deeds in those areas.

CONNECTIONS THROUGH MARRIAGE AND KINSHIP

Johnson has stated that in southern New England "the key to fluidity of identity was the kinship ties among different communities, which were created by intercommunity marriage or local exogamy" (1999:159). Evidence suggests that this statement holds true for the central Connecticut region. The fluid identity expressed by some native men can be linked to bonds of kinship and marriage.

Another individual who expressed fluid identity was Maussecup, who married into the region. He was a son of the Narragansett sachem, Miantonomi, and brother of Canonchet (Love 1935:96). Although he belonged to the Narragansett royal lineage and never gained status among them as a sachem, he did become a politically consequential fig-

Table 3.1 Catalog of Native American Names from Seventeenth Century Land Records in Central Connecticut.

RECORD	TITLE	NAME	GENDER
Confirmatory Deed of Farmington	Proprietors	Jon a compaus	
May 22, 1673		Jon a compaus squa	
(Smith, Smith & Dates 1907:16)		Jame son	
		Nanawan	
		Querimugs	
		Chery	
		Onkawont	
		Onkawont squa	
		Skerawguh squa	
		Mamanto squa	
		Nesaheg	
		Wanno	
		Tabhons	
		Seocut	
		Jame son	
		Querimus son	
		Wenanawan	
		Tontacom	
		Mamanto	
		James	
		Wonkes	
		Wasaniok	
		Sanaugh	
		Coehomhoote	
		H[ ]mon	
		Monsque[ ]	
Confirmatory Deed of Waterbury (Mattatuck in Farmington)			
December 2, 1684	Proprietors	John a Compound	M
(Smith, Smith & Dates 1907:17-18)		Hacketousuke	M
		Atumtoco's mother	F
		Jemse daughter by Cockoeson's sister	F
		Abucket	M
		Spinning Squaw	F
		Mantow	M
		Cockoeson's sister's Patucko's squaw	F
		Warun-Compoun Nesaheg's son	M
		Atumtockco	
		Cockeweson's sister's daughter	
Farmington Indians to the General Assembly			
A petition in defense of Tunxis	Petitioners	Nessahegan	M
Reservation boundaries		Kibuckquam	M
May 9, 1672		James	M
(Bates 1924:204-205)		Tabbhon	M
		Cherrey	M
		Quttamogues	M
Deed of Haddam	Proprietors	Sepunnemo "in behalfe of her and her children"	F
May 20, 1662		Turramugas "in behalfe of himself and sonne"	M
(Clark 1949:6-9; Indian Documents		Uncus	M
1661-1773, CT Hist. Soc.)		Chyamug	M
		Nabahuit	M

continues

Table 3.1 Catalog of Native American Names from Seventeenth Century Land Records in Central Connecticut.

RECORD	TITLE	NAME	GENDER
Confirmatory Deed of Hartford 1670 *(mentioned in Love 1935:97)* *– location of original is currently unknown –*	Proprietors	Maussecup	M
		Sequassen	M
		Warwarme	
		"sister and only heir to Sequassen"	F
		Currecombe	
		five other individuals	
Confirmatory Deed of Middletown January 24, 1673 *(Middletown Land Rec., Vol.1:200-201)*	Proprietors	Sepunnamor	F
		Joan alias Weekpesick	F
		Mamachize	M
		Wesumpsha	M
		Wamphanch	M
		Spunnor	M
		Sachamas	M
		Taccamhuit	M
	Witnesses	Nessehegan	M
		Wannoe	M
		Taramuguas	M
		Puccanan	M
		Sachamos' Mother	F
A Deed of Middletown April 8, 1673 *(Middletown Land Records, Vol.1:201)*	Proprietors	Passunna	
		Massakup	
		Robin	
		Pewomps Skin	
		Rachiask	
Deed of Wangunk Reservation May 28, 1673 *(Middletown Land Records, Vol.1:214)*	Proprietors	Sepunamus	
		Joan Alis Weckpissick	
		Machize	
		Wesomsha	
		Wamphanch	
		Spunnoe	
		Sachamus	
		Tacomhuit	
		Paskunnas	
		Masekump	
		Robins	
		Rachiasks	
		Penampskine	
Deed of Simsbury 1680 *(Phelps 1845:148-150)*	Proprietors	Nesehegan	M
		Seaket	M
		Totoe	M
		Aups	M
		Nenepaush, Squa	F
		Wishewonoe	F
		Mamantoes	F
		Manconump	M
		Waquaheag alias Cherry	M
	Witnesses	Wannoe	M
		Wyamp	M
		Vecokhepajen	M
		Wehassatuck	M
		Cupheag	M

continues

Table 3.1 Catalog of Native American Names from Seventeenth Century Land Records in Central Connecticut.

RECORD	TITLE	NAME	GENDER
Confirmatory Deed of Wethersfield Dec. 25, 1671 *(Wethersfield Land Rec., Vol.2:202-203)*	Proprietors	Tarramuggus	M
		Sepannama "daughter to Sowheage"	F
		Nobawhee	M
		Weeshumshie	M
		Waphanke	M
	Witnesses	Spunno	M
		Jowsuah	F
		Seanah's Daughter	F
		William Squa	F
		Suggoneke	M
Wethersfield's "Five-Mile Purchase" October 10, 1673 *(Stiles Vol.2:908-909)*	Proprietors	Turramuggus	
		Masecup	
		Wesumpshie	
		One Penny	
		Nesaheg	
		Seocutt	
		Pewampskin	
	Witnesses	Hannah One Penny	
		Wasanuniun	
		Joseph	
		Sarah One Penny	
		Sarah Sasakenams	
Deed of Windsor 1636 *(Howard 1933:11-12)*	Proprietors	Safsowen "Sachem of the mohegoneake"	
		Towbonnemen "Sachem of the aforesd mohegoneake"	
		Pozen "of Mohegon"	
		Wonochocke "a mohegoneake"	
		Arramament "of matianocke"	
		Cuewince	
		Nagonce	
		Pockettercote "Children of Safsowen"	
		Sheabe "of Paquanack"	
		Tuckqueafe "of Matiaecke"	
		Cockeronofset "of Paquanack"	

ure in central Connecticut. This is attested to by his imprisonment as a hostage at Hartford during King Phillip's War, an English move carried out to ensure the goodwill of local "River Indians." He is listed as an original proprietor of Middletown and also held rights in the Wangunk reservation. These rights appear to have been secured through marriage to a wife in the Middletown area; she was also a proprietor of Wangunk lands (Ives 2001:39). Maussecup held a land right in Farmington, that appears to have involved a kinship tie. In 1681, he gave a quitclaim deed for land in that town, a deed which he signed with a son (Gay 1901:6; Porter 1886:169). In addition, Maussecup was included among the leadership of the Saukiaug, as he was the first signer of the Deed of Hartford.

Exogamous marriage bonds were not necessarily limited to one wife in one location, as polygyny was practiced among the natives of central Connecticut. This is solidly confirmed in the record of an individual named Attawanhood, who does not appear in the catalog of group deeds. Attawanhood (alias Joshua), a third son of Uncas, was a Western Niantic sachem who took at least three wives in central

Connecticut. He married Sougonosk, the daughter of Podunk sachem Arramamett, who willed the greater part of Podunk lands to both of them in 1672 (Stiles 1892, 1:109). Rights to Podunk lands passed into Attawanhood's possession through this marriage. Following Attawanhood's death, the General Assembly confirmed that certain "Podunck lands belonges to Joshua the sachem deceassed or to his children" (PRCC, 2:174). He also possessed land rights in Farmington through marriage to a pair of wives, who appear to have been sisters. This was also recorded by the General Assembly:

> Whereas Mr. John Wadsworth and Lnt Steele, in the year 1675, May 31, purchassed all the rights of Joshua, Mohegan sachem, and his two wives rights and their mother's right, in the land within the limits of Farmington, as by their deed, date May 31, 1675... (PRCC, 2:174)

Evidence indicates that the aforementioned Nessahegan's fluid identity was rooted in kinship ties throughout the region, which may have been forged through polygynous marriage. He had a son in his home region of Windsor as attested to by a 1670 land deed executed there by "Sepanquet son of Nassahegan" (Stiles 1892, 1:126). He also shared a kinship tie with natives inhabiting the Mattatuck (now Waterbury) area of seventeenth-century Farmington. Nessahegan had a son among them as evidenced by a Farmington deed of 1684 bearing the marks of both Nessahegan and "Warun-Compound Nesaheg's son." Warun-Compound was a member of the Compound family, a prominent Mattatuck lineage. That he bore the Compound name suggests a matrilineal source of identity. According to a deed of 1673, Nessahegan had a wife who was listed as a proprietor of land at Coginchaug (now Durham) (Field 1819:141).

The presence of a regional social network has been evidenced, thus far, in the fluid identities expressed by men from one community to the next. However, the author does not overlook that women expressed fluid identities in adjoining regions. The data indicates that this did occur, but perhaps to a lesser degree than with their male counterparts.

Fluid identity was expressed by Towkiske, *Saunk Squaw* (translation: "queen" [Williams 1936:141]) of Thirty Mile Island in Haddam. Land rights at Thirty Mile Island appear to have been held exclusively by Towkiske and her descendant Saunk Squaws (Bates 1924:137; Hermes 1999:151-153). However, in 1692 a Middletown member purchased a parcel of Wangunk meadowland from her (*Middletown Land Records,* 1:61), indicating her inclusion among the Wangunk as a landholder. Fluid identity was also expressed by Sepannama, a daughter of Sequin, as she marked deeds in Wethersfield, Middletown, and Haddam.

CONCLUSIONS: A CONTRIBUTION TO NATIVE IDENTITY WITHIN GREATER SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND

This analysis provides only a partial, and indirect, glimpse of the social network that interconnected central Connecticut's native communities, but it is a valuable glimpse nonetheless. The relative value of this study is weighed against a paucity of seventeenth century ethnographic accounts regarding local populations. Through an approach of social network analysis on a regional scale, several aspects of local native culture have been identified.

Central Connecticut harbored a network of indigenous communities during the seventeenth century, each possessing usafruct territorialities. Within each community were contingents of representatives who presided over land negotiations with Puritans in expressions of group consensus. The leadership structures of these communities were interconnected by some individuals who possessed fluid identities. These identities were rooted in kinship ties forged, in part, through exogamous marriage bonds that were sometimes polygynous. A pronounced female association with land rights is also evident. A woman's land rights could be accessed through marriage-bonds, suggesting that female identity included among its components a role as keeper of the land.

Although this study is specific to the central Connecticut region, its findings are consistent with a greater social pattern that existed throughout southern New England. Johnson (1999:159) concludes that community affiliation and political identity of individuals appears to have been relatively fluid. This fluidity was derived from kinship ties among different communities, which were created by intercommunity marriage or exogamy. Extensive networks of kin and allies allowed some individuals to move relatively freely. Seventeenth century Dutch accounts, that probably reflect experiences with Hudson River and coastal New York natives (ca. 1620-1650), are consistent with this pattern. It was reported to be common for socially elite men to forge exogamous marriage bonds with multiple wives (Van Der Donck 1968:82). These resided in separate communities where they cared for the children (Van Wassenaer 1909:70). Polygyny was also practiced among the residents of southern New England (Bragdon 1996:178), but may have varied in frequency from one region to the next. It existed among the Narragansett, although it was not common practice (Williams 1936:147). Their dialect employs terms that distinguish between marriages to one, two, three, and four wives. Thus, bonds formed through exogamous, and sometimes polygynous, marriages contributed to the fabric of a social network that extended across southern New England.

TRIBES REMAIN AS DISTINCT UNITS IN REGIONAL NETWORKS

McMullen has stated that although the study of tribes has become part of our scholarly heritage, regional histories and intertribal relationships have largely been neglected (2000). Her research has portrayed native communities as part of larger social systems by emphasizing regional interaction. Regional interaction is also addressed by Bragdon (forthcoming), who presents an analysis of personal and community networks in southern New England. The author's study is a similar contribution in that it explores a regional social network. The analysis and conclusions are not intended to diminish the notion of the tribe as a distinct and self-sufficient sociopolitical unit, but are intended to highlight aspects of society that are often overlooked in tribally-based studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 4

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SACHEMS OF THE WAPPING COUNTRY: ETHNIC IDENTITY AND INTERACTION IN THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY

J. Michael Smith

INTRODUCTION

The Wappingers and other native groups of southern New York have for more than a century been labeled as either generic bands of a greater Delaware Nation or as the principal constituents of an Indian confederacy spanning the Hudson and Connecticut valleys. These two long-held misconceptions are largely the result of inferences made by late nineteenth and early twentieth century researchers rather than from detailed investigations of the archival record. This paper reviews documentary references to Indian people "from the Wapping country." In contrast to earlier assumptions, the study identifies Wappinger Indians as a distinct political and social group within the Munsee-speaking world. Moreover, they were active participants in early contact history.

Wappinger Indians and other native peoples of the Hudson valley first received historical attention during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in such now classic studies as those written by Edward M. Ruttenber (1872), and Reginald P. Bolton (1920). Although these early scholars were dedicated researchers, their notions of cultural and linguistic boundaries have failed to stand up to the test of time. Ruttenber, Bolton, and their contemporaries were working during a period when anthropological science was in its infancy. They were without the benefit of modern linguistic and ethnohistoric methodologies, disciplines that had yet to come into their own. The so-called "chieftaincies of the Wappingers" envisioned by Ruttenber (1872:77-85) merged what modern linguists recognize as two distinct Algonquian languages, the Munsee dialect of the Delaware language, spoken on the lower Hudson River, and the Quiripi language, spoken by ethnic groups along the river valleys of western Connecticut. Moreover, Ruttenber's expanded cultural groupings were not solely confined to the Wappingers. He incorrectly envisioned a large "Mohican" nation that included Abenaki speakers from northern New England such as the Soquatucks of the Green Mountains, Pennacooks of New Hampshire and others (Ruttenber 1872:85). Bolton, for his part, identified the Wappingers and other Munsee groups as constituents of the "Mahikan of The Mainland, East of Hudson River" (1920:22-45).

Yet, despite revisions of this earlier research, begun in the 1970's, that redefine understanding of Algonquian cultural geography in the northeast woodlands (Trigger 1978; Goddard 1978a; Grumet 1995), belief in a Wappinger confederacy spanning the Hudson and Connecticut Rivers persists. Linguistic evidence alone has not entirely succeeded in

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dispelling this long held myth. A culturally orientated view (Becker 1993:6-17) allows the examination of data that is group specific to provide a more detailed assessment of corporate identity, interaction with neighboring groups and the histories of individuals associated with the "Wapping Country."

REFERENCES TO THE WAPPINGERS

The primary source material used in this study consists of dated events from 1609 to 1690 that depict the existence of a distinctive native people living in the region traversed by the Wappinger Creek, Fishkill Creek, and other tributary waterways of the mid-Hudson River valley in present-day Dutchess and Putnam counties, New York. Ethnic-group references to Wappinger Indians in the seventeenth century occur in more than eighty documents found in colonial archives. These are catalogued in Appendix 1.

The exact origin and meaning of the term "Wappinger" is not indicated in these seventeenth century sources. County histories suggest that the name may be derived from the Dutch word *Wapen* (weapon) favoring such interpretations as "weapon-bearers" or "half-armed Indians" (Hasbrouck 1909:24). Some modern linguists, however, citing missionary and Indian informants who stated that the word meant "opossum," suggest the term is a possible cognate of *wa.pi.nkw*, the Munsee name for that animal. Translations of the term as "easterners," a favorite of past researchers in the region, was refuted by the above-mentioned informants who distinguished Wappinger Indians from the Wappanoos or Wapenocks. This latter was a seventeenth century Dutch term, likely borrowed from the Munsee word *"wa.pano.w"* (easterner), which early explorers used to identify the so-called "eastern nations" living around Sloop's or Narragansett's Bay in Rhode Island (Goddard 1978:95-96). There also appears to be no connection with the similar Algonquian phrase "Wapanachki" (dawn/land, east/land), in use by Delaware speakers and other northeastern groups denoting a location along the north Atlantic coast (Speck 1943:25).

POSSIBLE EARLY MENTION

The Wappingers probably were first mentioned in European records in a brief reference to "certaine Indians" living "at the lower end of the long Reach" who, in 1609, boarded Henry Hudson's ship, Half Moon. They exchanged Indian corn for trade goods (Jameson 1967:25). The Long Reach, a sailing term, was the early name for that section of the Hudson River bordering the present Towns of Poughkeepsie and Hyde Park. Here is where most Wappinger land sales later occurred. Native people of this area were identified before the end of the seventeenth century in geographic terms as "Indians of the Long Reach" (Ruttenber 1872:177-178).

Recognizable ethnic-group references to the Wappingers under variations of their name (Wappenas, Wappings, Wappinghs, Wappingoes, etc.) do not appear in documents until 1639. The majority of references are war-related events resulting from a series of intermittent conflicts with Dutch settlers that devastated both native and European communities throughout the mid-to-lower Hudson Valley. For example, slightly over half of these incidents are associated with the Second Esopus War and show Wappinger participation as diplomats and combatants in that conflict before English seizure of the Dutch colony of New Netherland in 1664. References following this date document Wappinger interaction with the British administration of colonial New York, their involvement in wars with their Iroquoian neighbors, and their participation in land transfers, beginning in 1680, that would ultimately lead to the loss of their homeland by the mid-eighteenth century.

HIGHLAND INDIANS WERE WAPPINGERS

A brief mention needs to be made regarding the inclusion of the term "Highland Indians" in this study; this is another name usually synonymous with "Wappingers." Although nine out of seventeen references listed state (or imply) that the two were one and the same, the remainder, mostly Dutch accounts, suggest they could have been separate groups. "Highlanders," derived from the Dutch *Hogelanders* (DHSNY 4:101-102), might initially have referred to the rarely mentioned Nochpeem, Indians identified on early seventeenth century maps as living in the Hudson Highlands. In some of these sources, though, Dutch officials are vague and leave the impression that they occasionally used the name as a generic reference to all native peoples living near the highlands.

Succeeding English administrators would include the Wiechquaeskecks and other Westchester County Indians along with the Wappingers as members of a confederated highland group at war with the Mohawks. Eighteenth century native leaders, on the other hand, involved in litigation over the highland areas of present Putnam County, testified that the people selling land there in 1691 were the "then Indian Chiefs of the said tribe of Wappingers" (NYCM-LP 18:28). This work proceeds on the assumption that Wappinger Indians and Highland Indians were the same people. By the latter part of the seventeenth century either term identified native peoples living within the boundaries of colonial Dutchess County, a pattern that continued well into the next century (Smith 2004:40).

The eighty-four corporate references identified in this study contain 153 incidents in which Wappinger Indians are mentioned in association with other named groups in documents. Many of these documentary associations simply list groups present during particular events. Other references are more informative and provide a glimpse of the political interaction characteristic of forest diplomacy conducted by native peoples throughout the northeast. Individually, these incidents present an incomplete view. Collectively, when tabulated and mapped, they provide a means to measure rates of interaction which show that Wappinger geographic and political concerns lay within the greater Hudson River Valley region (Figure 4.1. and Table 4.1.).

INTERACTION WITH NEIGHBORING GROUPS

Of all documentary incidences, 117, or seventy-seven percent of the total sample listed in this table, depict Wappinger associations with autonomous groups now largely recognized as Munsee-speakers of the Delaware language. Forty-four of the incidents identified in this percentage describe relations with the Esopus Indians, a disproportionately high number explained by the circumstance that half of the group references cataloged in this study result from the wars fought between the Esopus and the Dutch. During these conflicts, the Wappingers tried to aid the Esopus.

Incidents of interaction with Munsee groups like the Wiechquaeskecks and Hackensack Indians are represented by lower figures numbering in the teens. Other Munsee groups show varying degrees of contact with Wappinger Indians and are enumerated by entries recorded in single digits. These associations for the most part portray political relationships during times of war.

None of the incidents reveals kinship ties between Wappinger Indians and any other named groups. There is, however, limited evidence of familial connections among some nearby Munsee bands such as between the Esopus and Haverstraw (alias Rumachenanck or Rewechnongh, and between the Tappan and Massapequa, whose chiefs were noted at various times as brothers (Goddard 1978:94). Mention of Wappinger participation in family relationships is found only in land deeds. Nonetheless, the high rates of interaction with

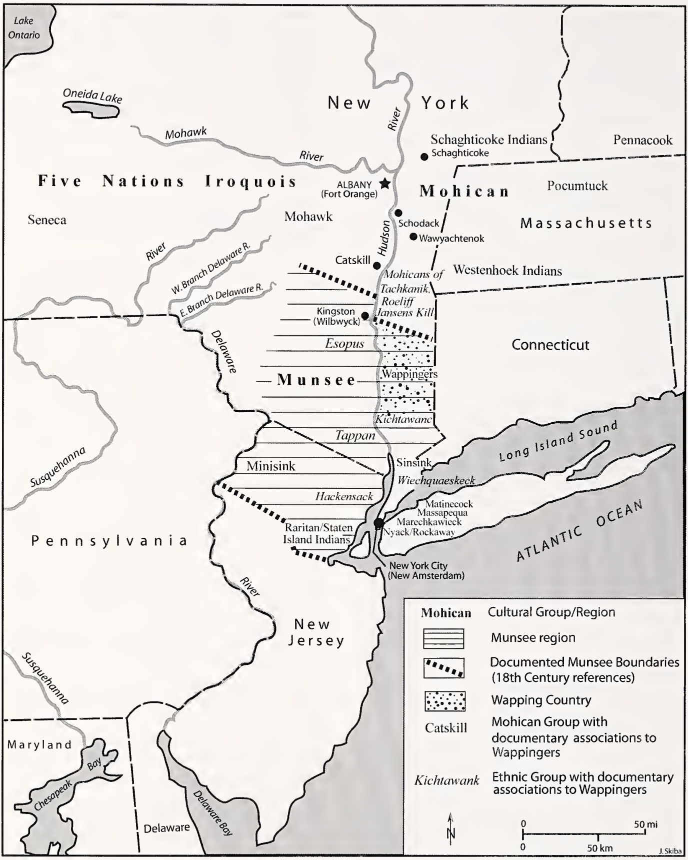
Lake Ontario
Oneida Lake
Mohawk River
New York
Hudson River
Schaghticoke Indians
Schaghticoke
Pennacook
Five Nations Iroquois
ALBANY (Fort Orange)
Mohican
Pocumtuck
Seneca
Mohawk
Schodack
Wawyachtenok
Massachusetts
River
W. Branch Delaware R.
E. Branch Delaware R.
Catskill
Mohicans of Tachkanik, Roeliff Jansens Kill
Westenhoek Indians
Kingston (Wilbwyck)
Delaware
Esopus
Connecticut
Munsee
Wappingers
Kichtawanc
Tappan
Susquehanna
Minisink
Sinsink
Wiechquaeskeck
Long Island Sound
Hackensack
Matinecock
Massapequa
Marechkawieck
Nyack/Rockaway
Raritan/Staten Island Indians
Pennsylvania
ATLANTIC OCEAN
New York City (New Amsterdam)
River
New Jersey
Susquehanna
Maryland
Chesapeak Bay
Delaware
Delaware Bay
Mohican — Cultural Group/Region
Munsee region
Documented Munsee Boundaries (18th Century references)
Wapping Country
Catskill — Mohican Group with documentary associations to Wappingers
Kichtawank — Ethnic Group with documentary associations to Wappingers
N
0 50 mi
0 50 km
J. Skiba

Figure 4.1. The Wappingers and their Hudson Valley neighbors of the seventeenth century are located on this map, adapted by J. Michael Smith.

nearby groups provide good evidence for including the Wappingers as members of the Munsee cultural region.

These incident rates are also mirrored by the fact that nearly half of all the place names found within Wappinger territory (Table 4.2.) contain the distinctive Munsee locative ending *sink*, listed under several spelling variants (*sinck*, *singh*, *cincq*, etc.). Additional evidence of interaction is suggested by the appearance in Wappinger deeds of the tribal and place names "Minnissingh" (Minnisink) and "Kightamonk" (Kichtawank, Kitchawanc), revealing contacts with Munsee groups living on the lower Hudson River and in northern New Jersey, that were otherwise unrecorded by E at the time (NYCD 13:571; ERA 2:82-1

The remaining twenty-three percent of the sample identified in Table 4.2. depicts documentary associations with non-Munsee groups living in the upper Hudson valley and inland regions. Fourteen of the incidents included in this percentage document interaction between Wappinger Indians and Iroquoian-speaking groups. Most of these report undefined relations with the Mohawks, one of the Five Nations of the Iroquois, who initially appear in records alongside the Wappingers "as mediators and advocates of the Esopus tribe." Later they were enemies during the Second Mohawk-Mahican (Mohican) War (NYCD 13:179-181). Several references suggest friendly Wappinger associations with the Susquehannocks, an Iroquoian group noted as long-term enemies of the Mohawks.

A slightly higher rate of incidents (nineteen entries) documents close relations between Wappinger Indians and the Mohicans, their Algonquian neighbors to the north. In 1645 Mohican sachem, Aepjen (Skiwias) signed the treaty ending Governor Kieft's War on the Wappingers' behalf. Cooperative relations with Mohicans continued during the Esopus Wars: "the chief of the Wappinghs" was noted traveling "with presents to the Mahicande lk over the matter with the Sachems th r, in 1675, Mohican chiefs informed A cials that they and "the highland Indians, and western corner Indians [like the Dutch and the English] are now also one," meaning that the native groups had made a formal alliance (NYCD 13:282; Leder 1956:37-38).

Other incidents depict interaction with specific Mohican bands such as the Catskill and Westenhoek Indians. Relationships with the Westenhoek (Wawyachtenok or western corner) Indians along the New York-Massachusetts border, for example, appear to have been particularly close and include associations suggesting kinship ties that would ultimately lead to Wappinger affiliations with the Stockbridge

New England groups comprise only two percent of the total sample identified in this survey. All of these occurred in 1688 and involve an individual named "Quaetsietts, a Wappenger of Hudson's River," who was reported among Pennacook and Pocumtuck expatriates raiding settlements along the Connecticut River on behalf of the French governor in Canada (NYCD 3:562). These few references recorded shortly before King William's War by no means constitute evidence of a pan-Indian confederacy spanning the Hudson and Connecticut River valleys. The low rates of interaction identified here, on the other hand, indicate that Wappinger relations with New England Algonquian peoples were limited and infrequent at best during the seventeenth century.

WAPPINGER LEADERS APPEAR IN RECORDS

Ruttenber took note of a few recorded Wappinger leaders:

> *"North of the Highlands was the chieftaincy historically known as the Wappingers . . . On Van der Donck's [1656] map three of their villages or castles are located on the south side of the Mawenawasi[n]gh, or Great Wappinger's kill, which now bears their name. North of that*

> *stream they appear to have been known as the Indians of the Long Reach, and on the south as the Highland Indians. Among their chiefs Goethals and Tseessaghgaw are named, while of their sachems the names of Megriesken and Nimham alone survive" (Ruttenber 1872:83-84).*

References to named individuals identified as Wappinger Indians are rare in seventeenth century documents. Sources recording the activities of Indian leaders in the region such as the Tankiteke chief, Pacham, and the Mohican sachem, Apjen, during Governor Kieft's War indicate early affiliations with other Algonquian peoples mentioned later in the century. Named references to Wappinger leaders, however, do not occur until the mid-seventeenth century when they first appear in records documenting the Esopus Wars and are represented by twelve entries made between the years 1660 and 1664.

The names, appearing in chronological order, are: Goethels, Coetheos, Kessachauw, Isschachga, Wisachganioe, Neskewetsim, Neshewetsim, Neskabetssin, Wamassaan, Messachkewath, Eihtaworis, and t'Sees-Sagh-Gauw. Comparing phonetic and other structural similarities found in these names suggests the provisional association of eleven of these entries with five individuals. Three of these leaders also have been noted in events following the Esopus Wars. Some of the named associations implied by these varied spellings exhibit a wider-range of variation when compared to better-documented materials on Indian leaders living closer to expanding European settlements like New York City (New Amsterdam), Kingston (Wiltwyck/Esopus), and Albany (Fort Orange/Beverwyck). The late references depicting land transfers in the region, some fifty years after the first sales registered in the Hudson valley, indicate that Wappinger Indians had infrequent contacts with their colonial neighbors and remained relatively insulated from the impacts of settler encroachment occurring in other parts of the valley well into the late seventeenth century. Given the incosistent spellings found in some of these name associations, recorded by different colonial officials at different times and different locations, an endeavor has been made to interpret the following data cautiously.

The first references recording face-to-face encounters between Wappinger leaders and Europeans document the careers of the Indian diplomats Coetheos and Kessachauw during the closing months of the First Esopus War. Coetheos made his archival debut on March 15, 1660, as "Goethels, chief warrior of Wappingh" during a meeting with the Dutch Director-General at Fort Amsterdam and was heard three days later in open session before the New Netherlands Council proposing peace on behalf of all the Esopus chief men, "especially Kaelcop and Pemmyrawech." There is little other information pertaining to Coetheos. Ruttenber's historical account identifies him as "Goethals, King of the Wappingers" (1872:299) suggesting that he was the principal leader of that group, but no primary source has been found to support this assertion. The lack of references documenting this chief's other activities suggest that he had a limited role as war leader. The war leader, an individual whose authority was recognized only during times of conflict, would be superseded when peace came by a civil leadership composed of a hereditary sachem and council of elders. Other references show that Coetheos was not a "king" and that his diplomatic companion, Kessachauw, probably held the position of principal sachem. Kessachauw made his first documentary appearance under that name on May 18, 1660, as "one of the chiefs of the Wappings," renewing peace before the New Netherlands Council and lodging a formal complaint against the seizure of Indian people "from the Wapping country." He may next have been identified on May 15, 1664, as "tSees-Sagh-Gauw, chief of the Wappinghs," participating in the treaty conference with other "Sachems or chiefs" at Fort Amsterdam ending the Second Esopus War (NYCD 13:375-

377). A reference to one of two chiefs of the Wappings recorded at Fort Wiltwyck as Isschachga on the earlier July 15, 1660, treaty document ending the First Esopus War, might also be a spelling for the name of this individual.

LEADERS PARTICIAPATE IN ESOPUS WAR TREATIES

If correct, this would make him the only Wappinger leader who was a participant to both treaty events with the Esopus Indians. These references suggest that Kessachauw may be the most likely candidate for the principal Wappinger sachem, a man noted frequently by Dutch commanders but unfortunately unnamed during numerous diplomatic events associated with the Esopus Wars. He might last have appeared under the name variants Kashekan or Kasshecho, first as a Highland Indian proprietor selling land in the Long Reach in 1680, and second as a witness in 1683 to a deed north of Wappinger territory made by "Mahikan Indians, owners of the land lying on the Roeloff Jansen's kill" (Dunn 1994:295).

The next Wappinger leader to emerge from archival records, Wessickenaeun, made his first appearance as Wisachganioe, the second chief of the Wappings, who attended the July 15, 1660, treaty conference between the Dutch and Esopus Indians. He may also have been mentioned during the Nicolls Treaty of 1665 following the English conquest of New Netherland as the "young Sachem. . .Wingeerinoe," who was granted temporary planting rights in Esopus territory near "a Small Creeke called Cloughkawakanoe" (NYCD 13:179-181). He possibly was the Indian later known as Wassemo, one of the young people attending a renewal of the Nicolls Treaty with the Esopus in 1675.

Identified the following year as Wissakano or Wessecanoe, "The sagamore of Wickerscreeke" (Wiechquaeskeck), he became a prominent spokesman among native people living in colonial Westchester County. He declared allegiance on their behalf to the governor of New York and facilitated refuge for North Indian (Abenaki) tribes during the border violence associated with King Philip's War in neighboring New England. He probably was among the Esopus in 1677 as Wessenach, a "joint-owner" of lands along the Rondout Creek in present Ulster County. He reappeared in Westchester County as the sachem Wessickenaeun or Wessekann, a witness to land sales there from 1681 to 1682. In these documents he was listed as a brother to one of the grantors named Conarhande. He made his last appearances among Westchester county Indians in 1689 and 1690 under the orthographies Wessecanow and Wessecamer, a Wiechquaeskeck or Kichtawank sachem living south of the highlands who sent men to fight the French during King William's War (Bolton 1881: 2:136).

Wessickenaeun might have been identified once before the English conquest as "Messachkewath, chief of the Wappings," who was noted on March 25, 1664, among Kichtawank and Wiechquaeskeck chiefs renewing peace with the Dutch during the Second Esopus War (NYCD 13:364-365). If this 1664 orthography refers to the same individual, then he may have been the unnamed chief noted a month later on April 26 who negotiated peace without the consent of "the common Wappings...called barebacks" (warriors). He would be the chief who failed to redistribute treaty gifts among his people (NYCD 13:371-372).

A common Wapping Indian named Eihtaworis, mentioned in the same document, was accused of murdering a Dutch hostage; Eihtaworis probably was one of this leader's many disgruntled constituents. These references suggest that Wessickenaiuw could have fallen from power after losing consensual authority among his tribe. Consensus was an essential component of native political systems. The changing of his status may partly explain his residence among the Esopus and his associations with varied Westchester County Indians.

Another important Wappinger appearing in documents during the Esopus Wars was recorded December 28 and 29, 1663, and January 4, 1664, under the orthographies of Neskewetsim, Neshewetsim and Neskabetssin. "A brother, as they say, to the chief of the Wappings," he was reported to be among Hackensack and Staten Island Indians seeking an armistice with the Dutch at New Amsterdam (NYCD 13:320-322). He probably earlier was one of two hostages detained at Fort Wiltwyck, being the "the old Indian," who was "a Wapping and brother of the chief." He was mentioned after his release in the company of that chief on December 3, 1663, by the nickname "Splitnose, the Indian last taken by us" (NYCD 13:352).

WELL-KNOWN CAPTIVE HELD BY DUTCH

Dutch records are replete with unnamed references to this captive, who was alternately held at Wiltwyck and at Fort Amsterdam over five months, beginning in July of 1663. He supplied intelligence implicating Wappinger and Minnisink warriors as allies of the Esopus Indians. He became a major cause of concern among "the chiefs of the Sinsincks, Kichtawangs and Wiechquaeskecks [who] solicit[ed] very earnestly the exchange of the captive. . .Sachem and brother to the chief of the Wappings" (NYCD 13:302) before his eventual release in mid-November. He was last noted in person departing New Amsterdam with letters for the Dutch commanders and soldiers at Fort Wiltwyck on December 29, 1663 (NYCD 13:320-322). However, Neskewetsim never arrived at this destination.

Instead, another individual appeared in his place. The final leader mentioned during the Esopus Wars, Mawhoscan, made his appearance on January 4, 1664. Under a likely variant of his name, as "Wamassaan, a Wappinger, as he says," he arrived at Fort Wiltwyck in place of the post messenger, Neskewetsim (NYCD 13:354). Wamassaan was a suspected combatant who had been implicated in raids on Dutch settlements the previous year. In 1675, as "Mawhoscan Sa[c]h[e]m of the Wapping Indyans," he declared to the governor of New York his intent to negotiate a peaceful end to the Susquehannock War (NYHM 24:178-179). He made a final entry in colonial records as Megriesken or Megriskar, the "sachem of the Wappingir Indians." As an absentee proprietor, he relinquished tribal rights to the Rombout patent lands along the Fishkill and Wappinger Creeks in 1683 (NYBP 5:72-75). He appears to have been mentioned several months before the Rombout purchase under a variant of his name, Massany, as a Highland Indian, endorsing a land grant before Albany magistrates for the establishment of farms and a mill on the site of the present City of Poughkeepsie.(NYCD 13:571)

Accepting the previous assumption that Wappingers and Highland Indians were one and the same, and noting that Mawhoscan was identified as the sachem of the former in 1675 and 1683, it seems highly likely that an individual noted as Unannamapake the "Sakemaker of the Highland" (ERA 2:182-183), one of two sachems approving a grant in the Long Reach during the intervening year of 1680, might be an alias referring to this influential leader. Aside from these references little else is known about him. His earlier activities during the Second Esopus War reveal Wappinger involvement in that conflict and the dual role played by their leaders, who openly declared neutrality but covertly sympathized with their allies across the river. His 1675 embassy to the Susquehannas reveals possible Wappinger affiliations with this once powerful Iroquoian tribe. Similar associations were maintained with the Susquehannas by other Munsee groups between 1657 and 1669. These included the Wiechquaeskecks, Hackensack Indians, and the Minnisinks of the upper Delaware River, who were allied with the Susquehannocks against the Senecas in 1664 (Grumet, 1979: 51-52, 112-114). Unfortunately, Mawhoscan's apparent absence during the 1683 Rombout conveyance–he was not listed among the signatories to this deed–indicates that he probably disappeared from documentary history shortly before this event.

NATIVE PROPRIETORS

Sale of land was supposed to be well-known and approved within the tribe. One chief explained:

> *"when they sold, the [principal] Chief always with the leave of the others undertook to sell & when he had agreed [with the purchasers] he called together the heads of the families who had any Right in the Land sold & divided among them Goods he got for the Land telling them for what they rec'd those Goods; then the Heads of the families again divide their portion among the Young people of the Family & inform them of the Sale & thus every individual, who have any right must be fully acquainted with the matter. Besides whenever a Sale is made, the Chief who sells calls the Chiefs of the Neighbouring Tribes who are his friends but have no right, in order to be Witnesses of the Sale & to make them remember it he gives them a Share of the Goods. So that no Land can be sold without all the Indians round being made acquainted with the Matter" (Nutimus, Unami-Delaware sachem, cited in Weslager 1972:162-163).*

References to other named individuals identified as Wappingers or Highland Indians in the seventeenth century are found primarily in the deeds recording the transfer of their land rights. Indian deeds made to European purchasers represent a unique form of documentation found in colonial archives. Deeds have been used by researchers to uncover the principles underlying native ideas about land and about sales rituals (Becker 1992; Dunn 1994, 2000; Grumet 1979, 1991; Wojciechowski 1992).

This research, with the names-lists generated from the documents, allows the occasional reconstruction of implied social obligations and the internal and external relationships of individuals. Any discussion of native land transfers must make clear distinctions between the signers of deeds recognized as grantors and those who signed as witnesses. The former were selling their rights based on familial or band associations derived through kinship, while the latter were fulfilling reciprocal political functions by observing and attesting to sales made by nearby groups, but who likely had no claims to the lands being sold.

Leading sachems or chiefs of various groups, themselves grantors, also occasionally endorsed these documents as witnesses on behalf of constituencies within their home territories. The roles of other participants mentioned in deed texts but not listed as signers probably varied considerably, but may have included some individuals who had acquired limited non-negotiable rights through marriage, alliances or friendships (Becker 1992:40; Grumet 1991:95). Applying these principles to Wappinger land transfers at the end of the seventeenth century provides a basis for comparisons with neighboring names-lists compiled by researchers. These help to work out boundaries as well as relationships between distinct ethnic-groups. The current examination concentrates on the period between 1680 and 1702 in which Wappinger Indians conveyed most of their territory to land speculators in the mid-Hudson valley. As group integrity was apparently still largely intact, given the late land sales recorded there, these years provide a representative picture of the residents in the region and reveal the proprietary associations of individual members both within and without the group.

The deeds portray land transfers in the region ranging from initial grants to later sales for goods and currency. Seven transactions occurring north of the Wappinger Creek between 1680 and 1696 were made for relatively small parcels embracing the "land lyeing in the Long Reach." Transfers of much larger tracts made below this waterway were conveyed in three deeds from 1683 to 1702 for the areas encompassing the Fishkill Plains and portions of the Hudson Highlands, helping define the southern limits of the Wappinger homeland. Land sales along the Fallkill (or

Valkill) and Crum Elbow creeks during this same time period, in the present Town of Hyde Park, provide evidence for the uppermost reaches of Wappinger territory on the Hudson River.

Ruttenber mentioned distinctions between Wappingers living on opposite sides of the "Mawenawasi[n]gh, or Great Wappinger's kill," as noted in the 1683 Rombout purchase of the Fishkill Plains (1872:83-84). These deeds show that sales in the Long Reach, where the Wappinger Creek is identified by the name "Wynachkee," exclusively involved land speculators from Albany, while those south of this tributary were made with competing New York City land interests. These proprietary distinctions are further suggested by the limited name associations occurring between native grantors in the Long Reach and those affiliated with the sale of the Fishkill Plains, shown in Table 4.3 and Table 4.4. The boundaries of the deeds for the two areas overlap in the tract of land separating the Wappinger and Casper creeks. This could indicate an internal buffer zone in which family rights were shared. A similar pattern appears in transfers made between the highland areas of Wappinger territory and the southernmost area of the Rombout conveyance, with its limited number of name associations and with its overlapping boundaries found near the Fishkill Creek and in foothills of the mountains. Both of these buffer zones transected land patents established by early settlers; these patent limits were disputed in the eighteenth century by contending holders of the titles. The holders' claims were based on the boundary descriptions contained in the original Indian land sales (Reynolds 1924:19-21; MacCracken 1956:52).

Divisions suggest the existence of smaller political units that may have made up the larger Wappinger ethnic group. The differences might give evidence of the tripartite phratry or clan divisions, tortoise, turkey, and wolf. Such social units are thought to be the primary internal mechanisms by which Munsee bands organized and maintained social connections (Grumet 1990:21).

An analysis of where and how often grantors appear in relation to these three adjacent areas provides details about members of the proprietary cohort within the region. The proprietary activities of fifty-seven granting signatories listed in Wappinger deeds from 1680 to 1702 have been depicted (see Table 4. 3). The aforementioned areas, the Long Reach, Fishkill Plains, and Hudson Highlands, encompassed this territory. Native peoples endorsing these documents as witnesses and non-signing participants–some known to be affiliated with different ethnic-groups and cultures–have been excluded from this survey. The numbers of grantors identified in these deeds averaged between sixteen to twenty-eight individuals per area. This information could provide further support for the existence of distinct sub-groups in this region.

These signatories most likely represent the heads of nuclear families conveying parcels of lands which they occupied or used and collectively had the rights to sell. Accepting this premise, while assuming that each had a spouse and children, provides useful demographic data suggesting local populations generally considered to be reflective of band-level societies (Becker 1993:19-20). Forty-six of the fifty-seven grantors identified in these transactions, more than two thirds, appear only once in the deed record. The high number of single internal associations noted is not uncommon in names-lists generated by deed analysis, where most individuals are rarely mentioned again following initial sales.

However, eleven of the fifty-seven grantors listed in Wappinger land transfers might have wider internal ties based on their name associations. The recurring appearances of these proprietors suggest they may be sachems of extended family lineages and clans, who were engaged in polygynous marriages that helped reinforce social connections along ethnic lines (Grumet, 1991:195). The activities of these leaders mentioned in two or more transactions are presented in Table 4.4. Some individuals are only known to have had particular associations with a given area, like those listed under the names of Moakenap (Mecopap) and Wassawawogh (Wassarawigh) identified in purchases involving the highlands group in 1691 and 1702. An initial appearance by the eighteenth-century Wappinger sachems Nimhammaw (Ninham/Nemham/Nimham) and Acgans (Quagan/Agans) in a sale at the upper margins of the Long Reach (FDR Heritage Museum 1696), and subsequent conveyances made in that area after 1702, exhibit a similar pattern. The activities of these two men are examined elsewhere (Smith 2004).

Other individuals exhibiting multiple affiliations here, both within and between given areas, include the already mentioned Wappinger leader Mawhoscan, and another sachem noted in a deed with him named Kaghqueront (Paquetarent/Kachkehant/Kechkenond). Each of them followed up initial transfers in the Long Reach with sales in the Fishkill Plains and the Hudson Highlands, respectively. Individuals identified in deeds under the names of Peapightapaeuw (PaighewPetawachpiet) and Tachquaram (Guighstjerem/Tochquamin) might have had connections with all of these areas. The remaining three proprietors mentioned in this survey, Awans, Perpuwas and Waespacheek (alias Spek or Speck), each affiliated with the first Wappinger conveyance made in the region, have more in-depth histories and deserve further attention.

THREE MAJOR NATIVE PROPRIETORS

Awans made his archival debut on June 15, 1680, as the individual "named Awannis who has an interest therein" when he was identified in a grant conveying land in the Long Reach to New York Indian interpreter and fur trader Arnout Viele. This grant, witnessed by the sachems Mawhoscan and Kaghqueront before Albany magistrates, was made for three flats of land along the Casper Creek and included grazing rights for cattle extending from the Matapan Falls on the "kill named Wynachkee" to a smaller kill lying "to the north called Pakakcincq," the present Fallkill Creek in the City of Poughkeepsie (ERA 2:84-86). The flats mentioned in this transfer are typical of those documented in deeds throughout the Hudson valley and generally indicate the presence of cleared planting fields and habitation sites that belonged to native families or lineages (Dunn 1994:226-227, 231). Awans was noted in this transaction as "having authority" among the grantors listed ethnically as "Highland Indians," but he did not endorse the document, suggesting that his rights may have been limited. He made his next appearance in deeds on July 15, 1691, as Awanganwrgk, one of seven signers later recognized as Wappinger chiefs selling land in the highlands (PGP, p. 14, #59). He was later mentioned in events associated with King William's War around 1696, when he was reported among the River Indian prisoners who had escaped from the French and who were delivering captives of their own to the Mayor of Albany.

Awans was also identified the following year under the name variants Awannaghqat and Awannighqaet, on a register of "Maheeckander" individuals found in the account books of an Albany merchant, Evert Wendell, who cataloged purchases by Indian nations. Awans made his final documentary appearance in these same accounts on July 1, 1707, when Wendell recorded dealings with a Mohican Indian named Heerij who "hout bij [lives by or with] Awanwaghquat's people" (WAB, unpaged). This reference indicates that Awans, although listed among Mohicans visiting Wendell's trading post, was not native to the Albany region.

References to the individuals Perpuwas and Waespacheek are found exclusively in land records and provide further material describing the close relationships between Wappingers and their Mohican neighbors. Both men were listed as Highland Indian grantors on the 1680 Long Reach conveyance, where they appear under the orthographies of Pillipuwas and of Waspacheek alias Spek. Perpuwas was mentioned after this initial transfer on May 16, 1683, under a phonetic abbreviation of his name, as Tapuas, a highland Indian granting a mortgage for land near the Matapan Falls, on the east shore opposite the Danskammer, "being a flatt or meadow to the West of a Creek called Wynag[h]kee" (ERA 2:182-183) This transaction, made in lieu of payment for debts incurred with Albany fur traders, was witnessed by his hunting companions, Wattawyt, a Mohican sachem from Schodack, in present Rensselaer County (the main council seat of the Mohicans), and Emmenninck, described as sachem of land named Kightamonk, lying opposite Haverstroe (translation from microfilm of original deed, New York State Library).

Perpuwas appears to have been mentioned in association with the highlands cohort on August 13, 1702, under the phonemic variant Terapouwes in a controversial sale made to a New York City merchant, Adolph Philipse. His identification as a non-signing participant to this event indicates limited rights and suggests that his hereditary lands probably lay to the north of this area near the Wappinger Creek. Perpuwas made his last appearance in deeds in 1730 conveying the territory along the upper branches of this waterway, where he was listed as the principal signer among the "native Indian proprietors of land in Dutche[ss] County," confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent, originally established in 1697 (McDermott and Buck 1979:110).

Waespacheek appeared in deeds a year before the Highland Indian conveyance in the Long Reach, on October 1, 1679, as one of five grantors ("all Westenhoek Indians") conveying "flats lying on both sides of the Kinderhoek kill" in Mohican territory, where he was identified as a cousin (neeff) to the "Indian owners. . .Wieshaghcaet and his two brothers" (ERA 2:84-85). He appeared after these transactions on May 5, 1683, when he was again in the Long Reach, under his documented alias "Speck," this time, as a witness confirming that the sachem Mawhoscan was "the lawful owner and inheritor of the said land" along the lower Fallkill Creek (NYCD 13:571). These initial references make the determination of Waespacheek's ethnicity somewhat problematic, as he was mentioned as a grantor with possible kin ties to both peoples. From which direction these familial associations came is not known. Nor do we know in what context the Dutch term *neeff*, which can alternately mean either cousin or nephew, was used in the Westenhoek deed, or whether it represents a European or native usage of kinship terminology. However, his familial ties to Mohican Indians were almost certainly multigenerational and he may have been the progeny of a prior marriage that transcended cultural boundaries.

Waespacheek was never identified again in Mohican sales following the Westenhoek conveyance, and all of his other proprietary activities occur south of Mohican territory within the Munsee cultural region. Evidence suggesting that he might indeed have been a Wappinger or highland (i.e. Munsee-speaking) native may be found in deeds made by Westchester County Indians, where he was a participant to sales under the named variants Washpackin and Waspuchaim from 1701 to 1708. Waespacheek made his final appearance in documents on February 23, 1722, when the lands that "did Belong to one Indian Called Spek" were reported as being north of a disputed claim between the "Fish Kill and the Wappanks Kill" (NYCM-LP 8:128). These lands lay in the Long Reach along a small "Creeke which runs out of the Creek called Jan Casperses" near the present day hamlet of Spackenkill in the Town of Poughkeepsie, known during the colonial period as "Speck zyn kil" or Speck's stream (Reynolds 1924:31).

Extra-regional proprietary associations between Wappingers and Mohican Indians, depicted by the activities of Perpuwas and Waespacheek above, and those documented with other native peoples, are surveyed in Table 4. 4. Comparison of named individuals identified in this study with names-lists compiled from land transfers made by Mohican groups (Dunn 1994, 2000) shows that by and large the two peoples do not appear on deeds together as grantors. Associations suggestive of interpersonal relations occur with frequency within cultures but are uncommon between distinct cultural groups (Becker, 1993: 17).

This evidence demonstrates that the Wappingers and the Mohicans were for the most part socially distinct, and they probably remained so throughout the century. Appearance of the prominent Mohican sachem, Wattawit, as witness to a Wappinger conveyance is representative of the political affiliations noted between neighboring groups who were friends and allies, affiliations primarily conducted by the leaders of principal lineages. This event in the Long Reach was reciprocated several months later by the Wappinger or Highland sachems Kessachauw and Kaghqueront, who appeared as witnesses on a conveyance made by the Mohican Indians of Roeloff Jansens Kill (ERA 2:190-192). A similar comparison with names lists compiled from land sales made by neighboring Paugussett peoples in western Connecticut (Wojciechowski 1992), has yielded no such proprietary associations with Wappinger Indians, further supporting the assertion that contacts between them and New England Algonquian cultures were infrequent during the seventeenth century.

ASSOCIATIONS WITH MUNSEE GROUPS

Most extra-regional proprietary associations revealed in this survey occur with Munsee groups and are indicated by the appearance in Wappinger deeds of named individuals from outside Wappinger territory. Some of these native proprietors were also mentioned as leaders during deed signings in their home territories. Munsee individuals identified as subscribing witnesses to the highland and Rombout purchases, for instance, include a Hackensack or Tappan chief named Anackan (Anackhean), and the Indian interrupter Claes de Wilt (Claes/Claus the native), each of whom conveyed land in northeastern New Jersey. Other Munsee individuals, listed as grantors to the Rombout purchase, include a principal sachem of the Tappans called Keghtackaan (Ketaghkanns), and Westchester County Indians Meggrek Sejay (Sayjaeun) and Oghkan (Ogkan), both mentioned in earlier sales among the Wiechquaeskecks and Kichtawanks. Associations with Esopus Indians are noted by the appearances of the expatriate sachem Caelcop (Keercop/Calycoon), who was initially reported as having a plantation among the Highland Indians. He later was identified as a granting signer on a conveyance along the boundary area separating Wappinger and Mohican territories in northern Dutchess County. Although kinship is not indicated in the deed records, these proprietary associations, nonetheless, may be characteristic of the social networking that existed between culturally related ethnic-groups and they provide additional evidence for including Wappinger Indians as members oriented toward the greater Munsee-speaking region.

CONCLUSION

This examination of seventeenth century materials clearly shows that native people from the "Wapping Country" were actively engaged in the Hudson Valley world of early contact history. Numerous references to Wappinger Indians document their interaction with Algonquian and Iroquoian neighbors and their diplomatic and proprietary encounters with Dutch and English settlers. Most of the documents in this study describe their relations with various Munsee bands of the lower Hudson valley and provide compelling evidence for including them as components of that major cultural group. This research additionally reveals the close political ties between Wappinger Indians and their Mohican neighbors in the upper Hudson valley. Documentary associations with Algonquian cultures in New England, however, show relatively low levels of interaction, and largely invalidate support for the existence of a Wappinger-led confederacy spanning the Hudson and Connecticut rivers. It is unlikely that such a grand alliance of disparate groups would have gone unrecorded by European officials, who viewed such coalitions, whether real or alleged, as grave threats to their colonial interests.

A similar pattern of interaction is also found in Wappinger land sales showing proprietary associations with other native peoples. The vast majority of associations revealed in deeds occur between them and Munsee-speaking groups. Occasional Wappinger deeds involving Mohican bands are reflective of the affiliations between allies. Proprietary associations with nearby New England cultures are noticeably absent in this investigation. The preceding discussion underscores the importance of regional historic studies of ethnic groups like the Wappingers that have generally been overlooked by researchers. Additional studies of the socially distinct groups in the Hudson River Valley are needed to more fully comprehend how they related to one another and to neighboring cultures.

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(NYECM): New York Executive Council Minutes 1668-1783. Unpublished manuscripts on file at New York State Archives.

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APPENDICES

Notes to Appendices: Transcriptions of Indian names are a central component of the appendices that follow. Careful attention has been paid to include all spelling variations that are believed to be associated with a particular individual, in order to present a data base for future comparison.

Table 4.1. Incident Rates of Interaction between Wappingers and Other Native Groups (1639-1689). Total Documentary Incidents = 153.

Munsee Groups 77% **Total Incidents = 117**	**Mohican Groups 12%** **Total Incidents = 19**	**Iroquoian Groups 9%** **Total Incidents = 14**	**New England 2%** **Total Incidents = 3**
-Esopus 44	-Cultural ("Mohicans") 10	-Mohawk 10	-Pennacook 1
-Wiechquaeskeck 15	-Catskill 6	-Seneca 1	-Pocumtuck 1
-Hackensack 14	-Westenhoek Indians 3	-Susquehannock 3	-Schaghticoke Indians 1
-Kichtawank 9			
-Staten Island Indians 7			
-Massapequa 5			
-Haverstraw 5			
-Minnisink 4			
-Sinsink 3			
-Tappan 3			
-Nayack 2			
-Rockaway 2			
-Raritan 1			
-Nochpeem 1			
-Marechkawieck 1			
-Matinecock 1			

Table 4. 2. Place Names from Colonial Records Associated with the Wapping Country

Aquwaresinck / Eaquaquannessinck (Aquasing) / Keeckachhameeck / Korenagkoyosink / Matapan / Matteawan /
Mawenawasi[n]gh / Memkatimac (Memkatinck) / Minnissingh (Minnisink) / Nanotanapenen /
Pakakcincq / Pegoquayick (Poughquag) / Pietawickquasseick / Pondanickrien / Pooghkepesingh / Seapons Haghkie
Tathepemesinck / Thanackkanek / Topaghpasinck / Wareskeechen / Weikopieh (Wiccopee) / Wynachkee

Table 4. 3. Suggested Wappinger Proprietary Cohort (1680-1702)

Proprietary Cohort	**Number of Individual Proprietary Associations**		
	Total with single internal association	**Total with multiple inter-regional associations**	**Total Cohort**
-Long Reach (1680-1696)	19	9	28
-Fishkill Plains (1683)	18	3	21
-Hudson Highlands (1691-1702)	9	7	16
Regional Cohort	**Total Individuals**	**Total Individuals**	
	46	**11***	**57**

Table 4.4. Inter-Regional Proprietary Associations (1680-1702)

Long Reach Cohort	**Fishkill Plains Cohort**	**Hudson Highlands Cohort**
-Awans		-Awans
-Tachquaram	-Tachquaram	-Tachquaram
-Kaghqueront (2)		-Kaghqueront
-Peapightapaeuw	-Peapightapaeuw	-Peapightapaeuw
-Perpuwas (3)+		-Perpuwas
-Mawhoscan (2)	-Mawhoscan	
-Waespacheek (2)		
		-Moakenap (2)
		-Wassawawogh (2)
-Nimhammaw (3)+		
-Acgans (3)+		

+ Individuals additionally noted in Wappinger land sales after 1702.

Table 4. 5. Extra-Regional Proprietary Associations (1680-1702)

	Wappinger Territory (G) Grantors (W) Witnesses (P) Participants			
Mohican Regions	**Long Reach**	**Fishkill Plains**	**Hudson Highlands**	**Munsee Regions**
-Wattawit	-Wattawit (W)			
	-Emmenninck (W)			-Emmenninck
-Waespacheek	-Waespacheek (G/W)			-Waespacheek
-Kessachauw	-Kessachauw (G)			
-Kaghqueront	-Kaghqueront (G/W)		-Kaghqueront (P)	
-Nimhammaw	-Nimhammaw (G)			
				-Nimhammaw
			-Kounhum (G)	-Kounhum
			-Wapetuck (P)	-Wapetuck
			-Anackan (W)	-Anackan
		-Claes de Wilt (W)	-Claes de Wilt (W)	-Claes de Wilt
		-Oghkan (G)		-Oghkan
		-Meggrek Sejay (G)		-Meggrek Sejay
		-Keghtackaan (G)		-Keghtackaan

APPENDIX: WAPPINGER CORPORATE REFERENCES: 1610-1702

29 September 1609: certaine Indians (of the Long Reach)
Robert Juet, an officer on the Half Moon's return voyage down the Hudson River, reported in his journal that they "anchored at the lower end of the Long Reach; for it is sixe leagues long. Then there came certaine Indians in a Canoe to us, but would not come aboord. After dinner there came [again] the Canoe with other men, whereof three came aboord us. They brought Indian Wheat [maize], which wee bought for trifles" (Jameson 1967:25).

1639: Wappenas, Hogelanders
Listed among "The delegates from all the savage tribes" living around New Amsterdam "such as the Raritans, whose chiefs called themselves Oringkes, from Orange, the Hacquinsacks, Wappenas, Hogelanders [Highlanders], Wicquasgecks, Reckewacke [Rockaway], Mereckewacks [Marechkawieck], Tappanders, Massapeins [Massapequa], Zinkeeuw [Sintsinck?], and others," refusing to pay a tax in maize, furs or wampum levied by Director-General Willem Kieft (1638-1647), saying "that they had allowed us to remain peaceably in their country, that they had never demanded a recompense from us, and that, for that reason. . .they were not obliged to give it to the director, or to the Dutch" (DHSNY 4:101-102; NYCD 13:6).

Spring / Summer 1643: Wappingers
Wappinger warriors, incited to participation in Gov. Kieft's War (1643-1645) by Pacham (fl.1639-1645), a former Dutch ally, attack boats sailing from Fort Orange during the spring and summer of 1643, confiscating hundreds of beaver pelts and temporarily bringing shipping to a halt on the Hudson River. Nine people, including two women, are reportedly killed. One woman and two children were taken captive. An attack on a fourth boat was driven off with the loss of 6 Indians (Jameson 1967:279; NYCD 1:185).

7 August 1643: Wappings
Director-General Kieft and the New Netherland Council report that a Dutch merchant from Rensselaerswijck, Willem Cornelis Coster, "has been murdered by the Indians called Wappings, who dwell on the North river about half way to Fort Orange, which Indians above mentioned have much of his goods which he had with him" (NYHM-D 2:153-154).

Winter 1643-44: Wappingers
Twenty-five visiting Wappingers are reported as casualties among several hundred "Wetquescheck" Indians killed by a combined Dutch-English force led by Capt. John Underhill, in an attack upon a large town near present day Pound Ridge, Westchester County, New York (Jameson 1967:281-284).

6 April 1644: Wappincx
The "Nochpeem, as well as the Wappincx" are among an Indian delegation led by "Kichtawanck" and "Wiquaeskeck" chiefs that had come to Stamford asking Capt. Underhill to apply to the Dutch for a peace, and "promising now and forever to refrain from doing harm to either people, cattle, houses, or anything else within the territory of New-Netherland." In confirmation of the Indians' peace proposal the Dutch promise not to molest them and release some of their prisoners at Fort Amsterdam (NYHM-D 4:216).

30 August 1645: Wappincx (Wappinck)
Aepjen (fl.1645-1684), sachem of the Mahikans. . .speaking for the Wappincx, Wiquaeskeckx, Sintsings and Kichtawanghs," signs the "Articles of Peace" on their behalf at New Amsterdam, formally ending Gov. Kieft's War with the River Indians (NYHM-D 4:279-280; NYCD 13:18).

15 April 1650: Wappinger Indians
Officials of the Dutch West India Company write to Director-General Peter Stuyvesant (1647-1664) expressing their concerns over the boundary dispute with the New England colonies, and that "the resolve of the English, to make war upon the Wappinger Indians causes us much anxiety. If these Indians should be driven away, then the English would thus by occupying their lands have a chance to cut Rensselaerswyck off from us; they might further become masters of the whole North river and with it of the fur trade" (NYCD 14:124; NYCD 13:27).

18 October 1655: Wapping
Pennekeck (fl.1645-1657), "Chief of the Indians of Achkinkeshaky" (Hackensack), surrenders thirteen or fourteen "Christian prisoners" during the Peach War (1655-1657), in exchange for gun powder and "two captured Indians, whom, although they are not of his nation, one being a Wapping and the other from Esopus or Waerinnewangh," were nevertheless released by the Dutch as a token of their "good Heart and affection" (NYCD 13:46-47).

10 November 1655: Highland Indians
Director Stuyvesant submits several propositions to the Council of New Netherland on whether to prosecute a war against the Indians, and if deferred what would be the fate of the captives "still in the hands of the Wiequaskeck and Highland Indians" (NYCD 13:51-52).

30 September 1656: Wappings
The "Marsepinck" (Massapequa) sachem Tackapousha (fl.1643-1697) sends a message to the New Netherland Council informing them "that the savages of Matinecogh [Matinecock] of the tribe called Sicketawagh" had stolen a coat of gray cloth and two shirts from Long Island settlers, and "that the savages from this side of the Wappings had also taken a blanket from the place, where the coat had been stolen and that the Matinecongh men had

now gone there to bring it back, as they had been obliged to return what they had stolen" (NYCD 14:369).

1656: Wappincke
Map reference by Van der Donck, along the "Wappincke's kill" (Jameson 1967:11).

3 September 1658: In the Highlands
Dutch officials at Fort Orange interrogate Christoffel Davidsen regarding a complaint about the spread of false rumors, that when he "came from the Manhatans in the yacht of Evert Pels and, when they were in the Highlands, said to two savages, who had come on board, that the Sachem, meaning the Honble General [Stuyvesant], had killed at the Manhatans 4 savages and that he would come to the Esopus during the following night and break the necks of all the savages there, whereupon the savages of the Esopus took some Christians prisoners and committed a great deal of mischief." In his defense Davidsen produces two affidavits and testifies, "that, while they were in the Highlands, two savages came on board, who asked ….. whether the Sachem [Stuyvesant] would come and kill all the savages in the Esopus and the Highlands and Christoffel Davids answered: I know nothing about it" (NYCD 13:90-91).

1659: Wappings or Highland savages
Claes de Ruyter, interpreter and diplomat during the First Esopus War (1658-1660) "says, that he has been warned by the Wappings or Highland savages not to go to the Esopus, Because . . .the Esopus savages intended to murder the Dutch" (NYCD 13:104).

20 August 1659: Highland Indians
Ensign Dirck Smith, commander of the Dutch garrison at Wiltwyck, writes to Director Stuyvesant reporting on the progress of affairs with the "Esopus savages" and informs him, that, "As to the Highland Indians, they numbered 110, as the Sachems said themselves at Thomas Siambers' [Chambers] house" (NYCD 13:122).

6 March 1660: Wappings
"Oratam (fl.1643-1669), chief of Hackinkasacky for himself and the chief of the Highlands" and other "Sachems or chiefs" (of Marsepingh [Massapequa], Rechkawyck [Rockaway], Najeck [Nyack], Staten Island, Rumachenanck alias Haverstroo, and Wiechquaeskeck) renewing peace with the Dutch at New Amsterdam, are asked "why the other chiefs and especially the chief of the Wappings had not come with them, whereupon Oratamy. . .answered that the chief of the Wappings did not come, because he had no dispute with us and that the chief of the Wappings interpreted the return of the child and the presents made to him for it so, as if at that time the treaty of peace had been renewed and consolidated and that he and they altogether were willing to continue the peace formerly concluded" (NYCD 13:148).

15 March 1660: Wappingh
Director Stuyvesant reports the arrival at Fort Amsterdam "of Goethels, chief warrior of Wappingh, sent by the Esopus Indians to the Dir. and council, to conclude Peace" during the First Esopus War (CHM 1:208).

18 March 1660: Wappings
"Coetheos, chief warrior of the Wappings," appears before Director Stuyvesant and the New Netherlands Council proposing peace on behalf of the Esopus chiefs Caelcop (fl.1658-1686), Pappequahen (fl.1658-1660), Pemmyrawech (fl.1658-1684), Premaeker (fl.1658-1660), and Seweckenamo (1658-1682). Coetheos informs Stuyvesant that "because the Dutch had made peace with the other savages, they too desired to make peace and they had wampum and bearskins ready to bring here, so that the Dutch and the savages at the Esopus might again be at liberty to plant; they would have come here themselves, but were afraid." Director Stuyvesant counters that the Esopus were only proposing a mock peace, to which Coetheos said he had heard that the barebacks (warriors, described by Coetheos as '"low or bad savages") were opposed to peace, but that the chiefs of the Esopus "especially Kaelcop and Pemmyrawech are very willing to make peace" (NYCD 13:150-151).

18 May 1660: Wappings / Wapping tribe
"Kessachauw, one of the chiefs of the Wappings," and the Indian chiefs Oratam of Hackinkesacky, Mattano (fl.1651-1665) of Staten-Island, Sauwenaro (fl.1655-1673) of Wiechquaeskeck, and Corruspin (fl.1660-1671) of Haverstroo, renew peace with the Dutch at Fort Amsterdam. Speaking through the Hackensack interpreter Waerhen (Waerhinnis Couwee fl.1630-1671), the Wapping chief states that he was not present at the 6 March meeting with the "above named Sachems" and that "he comes therefore now and says, that he, like the others, accepts the continuation of the peace, as aforesaid, and promises to keep it…that the Wappings have determined among each other not to injure the Dutch to the extent of a straw." Kessachauw also reports that he had been sent by the Esopus to ask for a peace, and complains, "that five of the captured savages and a squaw" being held with the Esopus hostages, "were of the Wapping tribe and of his people." The Dutch tell Kessachauw to inform the Esopus that "old and young, Sachems and barebacks, hereof and if they altogether desire peace, they must come themselves." Responding to the chief's complaint about the Esopus prisoners, the Dutch state that the Indians were not brought "from the Wapping country," and remind him that they had "warned beforehand all the tribes as far as the Mahicanders, Maquaas [Mohawks], and Menissinges [Minnisink] savages, to keep their people out of the Esopus." In deference "to the Sachem of the Wappings" the Dutch release the Indian woman "as a present on the condition, that he should command all his savages not to trouble themselves with the affairs of the

Esopus nor to come there nor let the Esopus savages come to them" (NYCD 13:166-167).

30 May 1660: Highland natives
Ensign Dirck Smith writes to Director Stuyvesant from Wiltwyck and reports that since the arrival of Claes de Ruyter and Jacob Toennissen among the "Aesopus savages" earlier that month, he had not seen any Indians at the fort, "except a mute one, who coming with some Highland savages, our friends whom we did not dare molest, brought some fishes" (NYCD 13:170-171).

3 June 1660: Wappings
The New Netherlands Council orders Claes de Ruyter to "go thither with the savages [Oratam, Corruspin, or their messengers], to hear the propositions of the Esopus Sachems" and to see if the Indians "were still resolved to make a peace" as had been reported earlier by "several tribes...especially the Mahicanders, the Wappings and those of Hackinkesacky, Haverstroo and Staten-Island," who had "at different times made propositions and tried to intercede for and in the name of the Esopus savages, asking for peace or at least an armistice for the same" (NYCD 13:172-173).

14 July 1660: Wappings / Highlanders
Director Stuyvesant writes in his journal during the treaty conference ending the First Esopus War, that "when up to noon no Esopus Sachem nor any news from them had been heard from we called before us the chiefs of the Maquaas, 3 in number, the chiefs of the Mahicanders, also 3 in number, the chief of the Wappings and the chief of Hackinghsackin, also one of the deputies from Staten-Island and. . .had them informed, that we should wait till evening and if they [the Esopus] did not come then, we would leave during the night" (NYCD 13:184).

15 July 1660: Wappings
Isschachga and Wisachganioe, chiefs of the Wappings, are listed among the eighteen chiefs (Maquas, Mohicans, Catskill, Minquas [Susquehannock], Wappings, Hackinkesacky, Staten Island, and Esopus) attending the treaty conference at Fort Wiltwyck ending the First Esopus War, who had "asked for peace in the name of the Esopus savages and in whose presence the peace was concluded," the articles of peace stipulating that "The aforesaid chiefs, as mediators and advocates of the Esopus tribe, remain bondsmen and engage themselves, to have this treaty kept inviolate and in case the Esopus Indians should break the peace, now concluded, they undertake altogether to assist the Dutch to subdue the Esopus savages" (NYCD 13:179-181).

29 January 1661: Natives of the Highland
Dutch Magistrates at Fort Orange write to Director Stuyvesant informing him about a "report brought by several natives of the Highland and Northern tribes concerning the mortality [from disease, possibly smallpox] at and around the Manhatans [that] has created such a fear here, that we could get the bearer hereof only with difficulty, to send him down according to the yearly custom. He comes therefore so late" (NYCD 13:191-192).

7 July 1663: Wappinger Indians
Captain Martin Cregier, Commander of the Dutch garrison at Wiltwyck during the Second Esopus War (1663-1664), reported in his war journal that "Two Indians arrived at the fort about 2 o'clock in the afternoon with a deer and some fish. Said they came from the river side and that they had been at the redoubt where they had traded some fish for tobacco; that they had left their canoe at the redoubt, and that they are Wappinger Indians. Meanwhile detained them and conveyed them to the guard house" (NYCD 13:324).

8 July 1663: Wappinger Indians
Captain Cregier reports that "About noon came 5 Indians near our fort-they called out to us to know if we had any Indians in the fort? To which we answered, yes: They asked, why we detained them as they were Wappinger Indians? to which we answered, they ought to keep at a distance as we could not distinguish one tribe of Indians from another, and if we found that they had not done any injury to the Dutch, We should release them" (NYCD 13:324).

8 July 1663: Wappinger
In the afternoon Captain Cregier interrogates the eldest of the two Indians detained the previous day, and after he "gave him fair words and promised him a present" was told that some Indians had left the Esopus "and dwell now back of Magdalen Island on the main land. . .on the east side of Fort Orange river, and number 8 men, 9 Women and 11 Children; and he even offered to guide us." The "old Indian" also revealed that his companion "had assisted the Esopus Indians against the Dutch, and for so doing had received in hand 5 fathoms of Sewan [wampum]; that 9 Wappingers and 30 Manissings [Minnisinks] were with the Esopus Indians and aided them. . .also that he said they were together about 200 strong" (NYCD 13:324).

13 July 1663: Wappinger
Captain Cregier interrogates his other "Wappinger prisoner," who stated that he had not aided the Esopus, "that his mate, the old Indian, had belied him." Asked if he would guide the Dutch to "the fort of the Esopus Indians," the Wappinger prisoner "Answered, Yes; and says the Esopus Indians are about 80 warriors strong, but does not know how many have come there belonging to other tribes. Says also that the fort is defended with triple rows of palisades" (NYCD 13:326).

26 July 1663: Wappinghs
"Sauwekaro (Sauwenaro fl.1655-1673), Sachem of Wiechquaesqueck" appears before the New Netherlands council and says "he was warned by a Wappingh savage that the Esopus savages would come down with 40 or 50

men in about 5 or 6 days, to kill them and the Dutch of New Harlem, Hasimus, Hoboocken, Gemoenepa and the new village. He says also. . .in regard to the two prisoners captured by our men at the Esopus, that they are Wappinghs and that the chief of the Wappinghs has been to see him on their account, being very distressed and that he is now gone to Fort Orange. . .with presents to the Mahicanders. . .to talk over the matter with the Sachems there, how to get back his prisoners" (NYCD 13:282).

28 July 1663: Wappinger Indians

Captain Cregier writes "by way of memorandum" that on 7 July while interrogating "the two Wappinger Indians" in council with Wiltwyck Commissaries, he received a message that two or three men "were without the door with loaded guns to shoot the Indians when they came forth." Cregier confronts two of the gunmen, Albert Heymans Roose, whose eldest daughter was a captive of the Indians, and Dutch horseman Jan Hendricksen. Cregier tells the two men to go home and keep quiet, to which they responded that "they would shoot the savages to the ground, even though they should hang for it." Albert Roose interrupts the council and asks to speak with one of the Commissaries; Cregier later arrested Jan Hendricksen on July 28th for disobeying orders and released him on August 3rd, "Through great intercession and promise of better behavior in the future" (NYCD 13:329-330).

3 August 1663: Wappingh

Captain Cregier writes to Director Stuyvesant reporting on an "expedition against the castle of the Esopus" and "What regards some Esopus, who may be hiding among the Catskil or Wappingh savages, I am awaiting your Honble Worships' order, how we shall act about it" (NYCD 13:286).

3 August 1663: Highland Indians

Captain Cregier holds a Council of War and reports that, "some Esopus savages are said to be planting among the [Katskils], also. . .one of the Esopus Sachems, called Caelcop, with some friends are said to live and have a plantation among the Highland savages. I have a great mind to attack them, but am afraid, that in such an expedition some of the Highland or Catskil savages might be killed, for it is impossible for our people to distinguish them from the others, and then the whole nation would be drawn into the war" (NYCD 13:287).

9 August 1663: Wappinghs and Highland savages

The New Netherlands Council, having been "informed, that some Esopus savages are hiding among the Wappinghs and Highland savages," sends Lt. Pieter Wolphertsen van Couwenhoven "to get information, how much truth there is in these reports. If he finds, that, as the report goes, one of the Esopus chiefs, Keercop [Caelcop], and his friends are planting among the Highland savages, then he shall offer to the chief of the Wappinghs a continuation of our old friendship [in order not to get into a war with him and his tribe] and shall present him a coat, sent along for this purpose; he shall also request him in the best possible manner, without using threats of war, that he will not allow any Esopus to live among his people, much less assist them or provide them with corn or other victuals. He shall minutely inquire after the Christian prisoners and ask of the chief and the Wappinghs, how and by what means the same could be released," and he is also "authorized to consent to a provisional armistice, in case it should be proposed and asked by the Wappingh chief" (NYCD 13:288).

13 August 1663: Wappingh

Director Stuyvesant writes to Lt. Couwenhoven anchored off the Wappinghs Kil, and informs him that he had received his letter and that "we are well pleased with what you have done so far, only Capt. Willet's son tells us, that the Wappingh savages are very bold and come on board 10 and 20 at a time; you are therefore hereby directed and warned, to be well on your guard and not to trust them much, if you should remain there much longer. . .if the wind does not serve, do not remain at anchor with the yacht, but keep sailing even if it is only from one side of the river to the other. I believe, that by so doing you will have fewer savages on board and run less danger" (NYCD 13:289).

14 August 1663: Wappinghs

Director Stuyvesant writes to Captain Cregier at Fort Wiltwyck and informs him that Lt. Couwenhoven "has reported to us, the Wappinghs Sachem had gone to the Esopus savages and hoped to bring back some prisoners" (NYCD 13:289).

15 August 1663: Wappinghs

"Oratamy, chief of Hackingkescaky" and three "Menissinck chiefs" appear before the New Netherlands Council to renew peace with the Dutch, and "They say, that they have inquired for our prisoners, but that none of them has been brought to them nor to the Southriver [Delaware River], nor to the Wappinghs" (NYCD 13:290).

19 August 1663: Wappingers

Captain Cregier receives a letter dated August 17th from Lt. Couwenhoven anchored off the "Danskamer" (Dance Chamber) on the Hudson River, warning him to be on his guard "for he was advised that the Esopus Indians together with the Manissings and Wappingers were prepared to attack and surprise our fort in about two days with four hundred men, and that they also daily threatened him in an insufferable manner; he daily expected the arrival of the sachem who had already been four days gone about the captured Christians to learn what he should then do and what should be the issue of it. But he had not received any intelligence in all that time." He also writes, "That the Indians who lay thereabout on the river side made a great uproar every night, firing guns and Kintekaying [dancing], so that the woods rang again; and he hoped to be with me in two days" (NYCD 13:333-334).

21 August 1663: Wappinger Indians
Captain Cregier orders Lt. Couwenhoven, who had returned on the 20th with a woman and a boy repatriated at the "Wappingers Kill," to sail back down river and meet with "the Wappinger Indians who [had earlier] acted as mediators in the affair, and as yet could not effect much except releasing one child and a woman for which woman he [Couwenhoven] promised to exchange the Squaw who had been captured by us, on condition that they should bring all the Christian captives to the river side and release them; and [that Couwenhoven] also promised the Wappinger Indians to take down with him the two Indians we captured." Cregier and the Council of War "therefore resolved and concluded to surrender the two Indians & the Squaw, but on certain conditions. . .that no prisoners should go, or be released, unless we first had all our Christians, prisoners, out of their hands" (NYCD 13:334-335).

27 August 1663: Wappings / Wappinghs
Director Stuyvesant writes to Lt. Couwenhoven that he had received his letter of the 25th, "that the savages, Wappings as well as Esopus, have put you off from time to time, so that until now you have been able to accomplish only little or nothing, except to ransom three children and a women, whose release you could only obtain by liberating the captured squaw. This was, however, not according to our intentions . . .not to make any promises to any of the captured savages nor to release them, except under the condition, that first and above all an agreement should be made for the exchange of all the prisoners." Stuyvesant also writes that "We are pleased to learn, what you further write in your letter, that the chief of the Wappinghs has given you hope and promised to release all the prisoners within four days. . .if it should not turn out according to your wishes and intentions, you say, you hoped to get the better of them in a manner, which they will not like much: You must use in this regard the precaution, that they must be the first to show signs of hostility, by refusing either to drive the Esopus from them or to turn over to you such of our prisoners as are among them or in their country. In case of such a refusal you must inform them. . .that we shall be compelled to look up and kill our enemies, where we may find them. . .if you can gain an advantage over them, after they have thus been warned and informed, we shall be much pleased. . .We would think it for the benefit of our prisoners, who as we learn are mostly hidden among the Wappinghs with the Esopus savages, if you could strike a blow at both the tribes, who according to your letter and the reports of others still keep together" (NYCD 13:290-291).

27 August 1663: Wappinghs
Director Stuyvesant and the New Netherland Council write to Captain Cregier at Fort Wiltwyck, informing him that Lt. Couwenhoven "has reported to us, that he will try to gain an advantage over the Wappinghs and Esopus, who still keep together" (NYCD 13:292-293).

29 August 1663: Wappinghs / Wappings
Director Stuyvesant and the Council write to Captain Cregier informing him that he has not heard from Lt. Couwenhoven, "which makes us fear, that the Wappinghs have not kept their word and promise to bring our prisoners within four days and that consequently Lieutenant Kouwenhoven has, in accordance with his letter, undertaken one or the other exploit, but, we hope, not without calling upon you for aid and advice, or at least not without having made every effort to obtain our prisoners from the Wappinghs by consciencious means and in friendship." Stuyvesant advises Captain Cregier, should he "resolve to strike a blow at them it would be better at present not to attempt anything against them, but to wait for a better opportunity, unless you had every chance and opportunity to get hold of some Esopus savages or our prisoners among the Wappings and you could catch one or the other by surprise or otherwise and take a good number of prisoners" (NYCD 13:293).

30 August 1663: Wappinger Indians
Lt. Couwenhoven arrives back at Wiltwyck "with his people and the two Wappinger Indians but [had] released and liberated the Squaw" for two children that he had sent ahead on the 24th. Couwenhoven reported that he "could not obtain any more Christian captives from the Esopus Indians. . .That the Wappinger Sachem had been with the Esopus Indians at their fort [which they were erecting anew], in order to ascertain if he could not obtain the release of the Christian captives. But when he had been two or three days with them in their new fort, to negotiate with them respecting the prisoners, two Mohawks and one Minqua [Susquehannock] came there with Sewan and a long message, which rendered the Esopus Indians so ill disposed towards the Wappinger Sachem that they caused him to depart. He then returned without receiving any other Christian captives. He came on board of Lieutenant Couwenhoven and told the same to him" (NYCD 13:337).

3 September 1663: Wappinger Indian
Captain Cregier sets out from Fort Wiltwyck with a contingent of 120 men to attack the Esopus in their new fort and notes that "We took as guide the young Wappinger Indian, and Christoffel Davids as Indian interpreter, and promised the Indian his freedom with a cloth coat, on condition that he brought us truly to the Esopus Indians" (NYCD 13:338).

8 October 1663: Wappinge
Captain Cregier orders Lt. Couwenhoven to sail to Manhattan with their Marseping (Massapequa) Indian allies, 40 soldiers, and "all the Indian prisoners. . .being eleven Esopus Indians, big [old] and little [young] and [the] one [remaining] Wappinger, making twelve in all, as there is no probability of their being redeemed here, none of the Esopus Indians coming here to speak to or inquire after them" (NYCD 13:344-345).

12 October 1663: Wappingers
Captain Cregier reports that Dutch commanders returning from Fort Orange had brought news of an alleged Indian conspiracy; "that Peter the Fleming, residing on the east shore opposite Bethlehem had been warned by a Mohawk to depart if he wish not to be killed, for he said that all the Indians on the east side of Fort Orange river had assembled and were to come in five days to attack Fort Orange. . .the Mahicanders and the Cattskill Indians had all abandoned their maize plantations; yea, had offered to sell divers maize plantations to the Dutch for a piece of cloth . . .This Mohawk had also said that five Indian Nations had assembled together; namely the Mahicanders, the Catskills, the Wappingers, those of Esopus besides another tribe of Indians [the Westenhoek or Housatonics from Wawyachtenok] that dwell half way between fort Orange and Hartford [Connecticut]. . .He said their place of meeting was on the east side of the Fort Orange river, about three miles inland from Claverack [Landing], and that they were about five hundred strong" (NYCD 13:345).

15 October 1663: Wappinghs / Wappings
Cornelis Steenwyk reports to the New Netherlands Council that "a Northern savage had related. . .that the balance of the Esopus savages had fled with their prisoners to the Wappinghs, where also the Mahicanders, Kichtawangh, Wiechquaeskeck and other River savages had gone. There they Kintekoyed and deliberated and made a plan to make common cause after having gathered the corn and come down, 500 or 600 men strong, to destroy first all the Dutch plantation over the River at Hoboocken, Hasimus, the corn-land and then the Manhatans Island, to burn, to kill everybody or take prisoners, whom they could get and that it should be done in a few days." The Council resolved to send "Two yachts, namely the Company's and that of the Spaniard, each with 10 men under Lieutenant Couwenhoven. . .up the River to the Wappings" (NYCD 13:299-300).

16 October 1663: Wappings or Highland savages / Highland tribe
The New Netherlands Council orders Lt. Couwenhoven to set sail and instructs him to "proceed as quickly as possible to the Wappings or Highland savages and make every effort to get information either from the Kichtowanghs or from the Wiechquaeskecks savages regarding the plans of the Esopus and Highland savages. . .If he obtains information among the Kechtawangh, Tappaen or other savages, that the Esopus and Highland savages are not coming down so soon, then he must sail up the river with both yachts to the Wappings and send one or the other savage after them and try to make the chief or some of the Highland tribe to come on board and treat with them about the ransoming of the rest of the Christian prisoners, in default of other things for the captured savages, of whom we hold a like number." The Council also orders that "The savage prisoner, whom he takes along and who is, as we are told, a Wapping and brother of the chief must not be released, unless 3 or 4 captured Christian children can be obtained for him" (NYCD 13:300-301).

21 October 1663: Wappings
Director Stuyvesant writes to Lt. Couwenhoven informing him "that the chiefs of the Sinsincks, Kichtawangs and Wiechquaeskecks solicit very earnestly the exchange of the captive savage against a girl; considering that he is himself a Sachem and brother to the chief of the Wappings, we ought to have at least 2 or 3 for him, but if they promise, that, if we release this prisoner for the girl, the aforesaid four Sachems will come down with you, to speak with us and renew the old treaty" (NYCD 13:302).

7 November 1663: Wappings
Director Stuyvesant writes to Captain Cregier at Fort Wiltwyck and informs him that Lt Couwenhoven, "after having made and renewed the peace with the Wappings about 12 days ago and stipulated for an exchange of prisoners according to his written and verbal report, went there yesterday a week ago in Rut Jacobsen's yacht; on the 3d inst., last Saturday, he was surprised by the Wappings, the yacht was captured and burnt and the 6 or 8 men with him were murdered and he him self taken as prisoner to the Wapping castle."(This was a false rumor.) Stuyvesant suggests to Cregier that if he "should in the meantime see a chance, in consequence of good information, to gain an advantage over the said Wappings with the assistance of some volunteers and the force under your command" (NYCD 13:302).

7 November 1663: Wappingers
Captain Cregier reports that Lt. Couwenhoven had that evening "arrived at the Redoubt with Rut Jacobsen's yacht; Brought with him two Christian children which he had in exchange from the Esopus Indians for a Squaw with a big girl; brought back the other Indian prisoners; brought also the Wappinger Sachem whom Couwenhoven had detained in the yacht; says a Christian woman is kept a prisoner by the Wappingers, and that he had detained the chief in her stead until they should surrender the Christian woman" (NYCD 13:348).

8 November 1663: Wappingers
Captain Cregier goes to the Redoubt with an escort "to

bring up to Wildwyck the Esopus Indians prisoners & the children with the Wappinger Indian captive, being in all 9 in number. On arriving at the shore, found the Wappinger chief and also one of his Indians on board Rut Jacobsen's yacht. Asked Lieutenant Couwenhoven, what were These two Indians for? Said it was the Sachem of the Wappingers with one of his Indians whom he had brought along but not as a prisoner – had come willingly on board as a friend. Asked him, if he would wish to return home and endeavor to let us have the female Christian captive? To which he answered, yes; says, he will bring her himself in six or seven days. Whereupon the Council of War decided that he and the Indian with him, should be released, and as they were at present our friends and had renewed peace we promised him if he brought back the Christian women we should then let his brother go together with another prisoner. Whereunto he said, 'Tis well; gave him a bark canoe & let him go" (NYCD 13:349).

10 November 1663: Highland Nation

Director Stuyvesant writes to the West-India Company in Holland, informing them "of the success against the barbarous Esopus Nation. . .who were so reduced by the last attack that, according to the statement of the Highland and other Indians, their neighbors, not more than 27 [or] 28 effective men and 15 [or] 16 women and some few children remain, who, through fright, have, as yet, no abiding place nor dare erect any huts. The Chief of the aforesaid Highland Nation hath offered his service to recover the few Christian children yet in the hands of the Esopus Indians and to bring them back to us, on condition that the Esopus women and children who are prisoners be then presented to him" (NYCD 2:484-488).

13 November 1663: Wappinger

Captain Cregier reports the arrival at the Redoubt of "a Wappinger Sachem with eight Indians, bringing a female Christian captive whom he had purchased from the Esopus Indians and which he had promised us on the 8th." The Sachem was conducted up to Wiltwyck where Cregier "Sent for him to the Council of War and asked, what he had to communicate? He answered, I am come to perform my promise which I gave on board the yacht at the Redoubt, to bring in the Christian woman whom I bought from the Esopus Squaw, and I bring and present her to you now, because we are both friends. Whereupon we thanked him and said, that we should speak together on the morrow. Lodged them in Capt. Chambers house and had food furnished them" (NYCD 13:349).

14 November 1663: Wappinger

Captain Cregier meets with the Council of War and resolves to release the "Wappinger Indian, and. . .one of the Esopus captive Squaws, pursuant to our previous promise, made on the eighth of November to the Wappinger chief." Cregier then "Invited the chief and his Indians into the council chamber and presented him the Esopus Squaw and a little sucking infant, which they took; presented him also with two pieces of cloth in token of friendship. The chief then requested that we should live with him in friendship, which should be preserved by him. He gave us, in token thereof, a bow and arrow and said, I will not make war against the Dutch, but live in peace with them. We promised him likewise; gave each other the hand, and the said chief promised us to do his best to obtain back for us all the prisoners from the Esopus Indians that a mutual exchange should be made; for to morrow being Thursday, the Esopus Sachem would then come with the prisoners according to the promise he gave Lieutenant Couwenhoven and the provisional truce agreed upon for ten days with him, for he had promised to fetch the Christian prisoners to the Redoubt in the space of ten days, to be then exchanged one for the other. . .So they again departed well satisfied" (NYCD 13:349-350).

19 November 1663: Wappings

Director Stuyvesant writes to Captain Cregier concerning his letter of 7 November about Lieutenant Couwenhoven and the alleged attack "by the Wappings under a simulated friendship and the pretext of negotiating about the release of the prisoners and that he and all his men had been murdered. We had proposed to you on that occasion and left it to your judgment and better information, to take revenge for it of the Wappings and strike a heavy blow at them with your soldiers and some Volunteers. We have since been informed by Mr. Abraham Staats to our great joy and delight, that it was not true and that he spoke with Pieter Wolphertsen and Rut Jacobsen near the Esopus river. . .We repeat the order herewith and wish it done upon receipt of this letter with all possible speed and direct that the design upon the Wappings be deferred until then, if it cannot be carried with prospect of a good success and in safety or if it is not done" (NYCD 13:304).

21 November 1663: Wappings

The New Netherlands Council sends instructions to Lt. Couwenhoven informing him "that the chief of the Wappings has sent one of his savages, whom the aforesaid Thomas Hall has seen and heard speak, to the Governor of New-Haven and requested him to act as mediator and advocate for a continuation of the peace between us and his tribe and to bring it about, asking for this purpose a letter from the said Governor to this government and giving as reason to the said Governor, that this chief and his tribe had never done any ill to the Dutch nor tried to do, but desired to continue in peace with them." The Council resolved to Send Lt. Couwenhoven, Pieter Ebel and Harmen Douwesen, who "speak the savage language very well, to the Wappings, that they may inquire for themselves, wether they are so minded, as we are informed" (NYCD 13:304-306).

28-29 November 1663: Wappinger
Ensign Christiaen Niessen, acting commander of the Wiltwyck garrison during Captain Cregiers' absence, reports that "About one o'clock in the afternoon a Wappinger Indian came to Wildwyck with a flag of truce; reports that a Wappinger Sachem lay at the river side near the Redoubt with venison and wished to have a wagon to convey the venison up for sale, which was refused. The said Indian told me that the Sachem had not much to say; added further, that the Hackingsack Indians had represented that four of the Esopus Indians, prisoners in our hands, had died. Whereupon the Indian prisoners were brought out to the gate to him, to prove to him that they were still living and well. Sent him down immediately to his Sachem at the river side, to say to him that we should come to him to-morrow." At dawn on the 29th Niessen gave notice that those wishing to purchase venison should accompany him to the Redoubt, where he met with the Sachem who said "he had been to receive the Christian prisoners and should have had them with us before, had he not unfortunately burnt himself in his sleep when lying before the fire; shewed us his buttock with the mark of the burn which was very large; Also said, that six Christian captives were together at the river side, and gave ten fathoms of Sewan to another Indian to look up the seventh Christian who is Albert Heyman's oldest daughter, promising us positively that he should restore all the Christian prisoners to us in the course of three days, provided it did not blow too hard from the North; otherwise, he could not come before the fourth day. We, then, parted after he had, meanwhile, sold his venison. He left immediately in his canoe" (NYCD 13:350-351).

1 December 1663: Wappinger
Ensign Niessen writes to Director Stuyvesant and the New Netherlands Council, informing them "that on the day before yesterday the Wappinger Sachem came with venison to the Redoubt, and we have had a talk with him, and he promised us, among other things, to bring us hither all the Christian prisoners, within three or four days" (NYCD 13:351).

3 December 1663: Wappinger
Ensign Niessen sends a convoy with grain to the Redoubt, "which on returning brought up the Wappinger Sachem and his wife, and Splitnose, the Indian last taken by us. Which Sachem brought with him two captive Christian children, stating to us that he could not, pursuant to his previous promise of the 29th Novomber, bring along with him the remainder, being still five Christian captives, because three were at their hunting grounds, and he could not find them, but that another Indian was out looking for them; the two others are in his vicinity, the Squaw who keeps them prisoner will not let them go, because she is very sick and hath no children, and expects soon to die; and when he can get Albert Hewyman's oldest daughter, who is also at the hunting ground, and whom he hath already purchased and paid for; then he shall bring the remainder of the Christian captives along. For the two Christian children which he hath brought with him, an Indian child is given him, being a little girl, and three pieces of cloth, with which he was content" (NYCD 13:352).

3 December 1663: Wappingers
Ensign Niessen and the Military council draft a resolution to the New Netherlands Council, that shipping reserve arms and field accouterments to Manhattan could not be done because of the approaching winter, and express concerns that "if the articles in readiness were sent away [which would be publicly seen by other tribes of Indians]. . .massacres [which God forbid!] may occur through want of all adequate means. . .as the Wappingers come almost daily under pretence of exchanging Christians, to spy out this place which already hath suffered massacre enough" (NYCD 13:351).

10 December 1663: Wappings
"Oratamy, chief of Hackinghsacky" reports at Fort Amsterdam "that the two savages, sent by him according to the agreement of the 14th 9ber to the Wapping and Esopus Sachems, had returned and brought the information, that the Wappings, Esopus and other savages were very glad, that the Dutch were willing to make at their request a peace with them. To promote it the said Sachems had promised to come down here with the 5 captive Christians, who are still in their hands, within 8 days. He requests a blanket for the savages, who had been to the Wappings and was told, that they should receive a present, when the said Sachems should arrive here, as they report" (NYCD 13:314).

28-29 December 1663: Wappings
"Oratamy and Matteno, Chiefs of Hackingkesaky and Staten-Island" appear before the New Netherland Council "in company of a savage, called Neskewetsim, a brother, as they say, to the chief of the Wappings" and report "that Seweckenamo one of the chiefs of the Esopus had come to them at Hackingkesaky, and that the same was very anxious for peace, but that he was ashamed to come hither, because he could not bring with him the 5 Christians still in captivity, because the savages were out hunting here and there. But he promised to do his best and get them as quick as possible, but whereas it could not be done, before the savages had done their hunting, which will be some time yet, he requests two months more of armistice." The Council grants the chiefs the requested armistice on the 29th and orders that "all inhabitants of New-Netherland, especially the officers and soldiers at the Esopus [Wiltwyck] and in the Redoubt are required and directed, to let pass and return unmolested the bearers hereof, two savages, to wit Kastangh (Carstangh fl.1660-1664) and Neshewetsim, with

our letters" (NYCD 13:320-322).

4 January 1664: Wappinger
Ensign Niessen writes to Director Stuyvesant from Fort Wiltwyck reporting that he had received his letters that "were brought by two savages, one called Hastang [Carstangh], the other Wamassaan, a Wappinger, as he says, who came in place of the dispatched savage Neskabetssin. We find that this Wamassaan has had part in the murder here, he took prisoner the son of Derick Jochemsen. Meanwhile we shall be on our guard as much as possible" (NYCD 13:354).

15 March 1664: Wappings
An Indian "called Hickemick" (fl.1664-1677) arrives at the home of Lt. Couwenhoven reporting that "There is great dissatisfaction among the Esopus and Wappings. They had expected to kill all the Dutch and drive them away, as the English of Westchester had promised to them," and that the Indians had told the English "The land on Esopus shall be yours, if you help us kill the Dutch and we shall give you a present besides." Hickemick also reported that "About 8 days ago a party of savages of the Wapping and Esopus tribes went towards Westchester with a lot of peltries, consisting of beaver, otter, bear, elk, fox, and raccoon skins. Arrived there they asked the English, whether they were ready to kill the Dutch, but the English answered, 'It cannot be done at present, our Sachem has made an agreement with Stuyvesant for a year.' 'But we do not at all like to wait so long, answered the savages, why have you made us believe it. Come, let us only begin, we will give you all these goods.' The English replied, 'It cannot be done now, but if you will sell the land on the Wapping and at Haverstraw, we shall pay for it' The savages then left very discontented and said, 'It is better, we make peace with the Dutch, the English are only fooling us'" (NYCD 13:363).

20-21 March 1664: Wappinghs
The New Netherlands Council sends Lt. Couwenhoven to the Highlands to confirm Hickemick's 15 March report. Arriving on the 20th in the company's yacht, he met with three Indians who stated that "the English are worthless people, we will not have anything to do with them, they have promised to the Esopus and Wappingh savages, to kill the Dutch, if they too would do their best." On 21 March Couwenhoven met with Sessikout (fl.1645-1684) "The Sachem of Haverstraw," and his interpreter Aerent, who told him "what you have heard from their savages, that the English wanted to kill the Dutch and had asked the savages to help, is true the Sachems were quite willing to make peace, but that the 'barebacks' [warriors] will not. . .that no decision should be made before 30 days, all the Esopus and Wappinghs being far inland and then a decision would be made either for peace or for war" (NYCD 13:363-364).

25 March 1664: Wappings
"Metsewachset (fl.1641-1664), chief of Kichtawan [Kichtawanck], on the east side of the North river, Messachkewath, chief of the Wappings," and "Nipamick (fl.1663-1671), chief of Wiechquaeskeck in place of his brother Sauwenarack [Sauwenaro]," propose peace to the New Netherlands Council through their representative "Oratamy, chief of Hackinghesacky," stating "that they had not asked for war nor intended it, although they have been accused of it and that they still desire to live in peace with us." In "token and in proof of their good heart" the sachems tell the council that they had earlier released six Christians prisoners to Lt. Couwenhoven, and that "they bring now altogether the captured child, which the aforesaid three chiefs had bought" from the Esopus for 31 strings of wampum. The Dutch acknowledge the return of the captives and report that the chiefs "have received in return for them a captive squaw and two children, 30 strings of wampum, a piece of cloth, two cans of brandy, also one-half of an anker, 15 strings of wampum, three yards of duffel and 10 lbs. of powder and that the Sachem of the Highlands received besides a small piece of cloth for his trouble." The Dutch tell the chiefs that they will not make war, and remind them "that no harm has been done to them. If we had intended to injure them, we could have pursued and killed them as well as the Esopus, and destroyed all their corn, as the Esopus' corn has been destroyed" (NYCD 13:364-365).

26 March 1664: Wappingers
Director Stuyvesant writes to Ensign Nyssen and the Dutch officials at Wiltwyck, reporting that he had sent them a captured child, and that "three chiefs have been here yesterday, to wit of the Wappingers. . .Kichtawangh and Wieckquaeskecke, who brought the child sent herewith; we do not know whose it is and the said savages have reported, that there are only three more captured Christians among the Esopus savages in the interior, whom they have promised us to do their best and get" (NYCD 13:365-366).

26 April 1664: common Wappings
"Metsewachset, the chief of Kichtewangh" sends a message to the New Netherlands Council through the Indian Ejachke (Echko fl.1651-1687), accompanied by "Oratam, the chief of Hackinghesaky," and the captive woman Aeltie Sibrants, reporting the recent attempt on her life and the murder eight days ago of her husband Mattys Roeloffsen by the common Wapping Indian, Eihtaworis. Aeltie was returned by the Indians with a string of wampum and told to tell the Dutch "that we are not guilty of this murder, but desire to make peace with the Sachem of the Manhattans, tell him further, that all the men and squaws are very sorry for the murder and weep over it." In his message Metsewachset also relates that "the common Wappings, or as they are usually called

'barebacks,' say, that their chief has received from Pieter Wolphertsen [Lt. Couwenhoven] 30 strings of wampum and three coats of cloth; the common Wappings have become jealous and dissatisfied on that account, because their chief had not informed them of it nor shared with them. . .and so he told us here [and at New Amsterdam], that all his people were satisfied to have peace, but he had done it by himself and without their knowledge" (NYCD 13:371-372).

15 May 1664: Wappinghs
"t'Sees-Sagh-Gauw, chief of the Wappinghs" is among the "Sachems or chiefs" from several "tribes" (Esopus, Kightewangh, Rewechnongh or Haverstraw, Wiechquaskeck, Hackingkesacky and Tappaen, Staten-Island and Nayack, and Marsepingh), attending the treaty conference at Fort Amsterdam ending the Second Esopus War (NYCD 13:375-377).

8 August 1664: Wappingers
The Dutch "Books of Monthly Payments" sent to Holland record the expenditure carried over from 1663 of "8 lbs., issued to 8 soldiers accompanying Pieter Wolphertsen to the Wappingers" (NYCD 2:466).

24 September 1664: Indians at Wamping
"The Indians at Wamping and Espachomy [Esopus] and all [the Nations down the River and] below the Manhatans, as also all those that have submitted themselves under the proteccon of His Ma[jes]tie," are included in the "Articles of Agreement and Peace" made at Fort Albany between the English and the "Maques" (Mohawks) and "Synicks" (Senecas) of the Five Nations Iroquois, following the conquest of New Netherland by an expeditionary force on 6 September 1664 (NYCD 3:68).

21 November 1664: Wappingers
The Dutch "Books of Monthly Payments" sent to Holland record the expenditure carried over from 1663 of "10 ½ lbs., issued to Pieter Wolphersen, going with some soldiers in the Company's sloop to the Wappingers" (NYCD 2:467).

26 September 1668: Wapingoes
NY Governor Francis Lovelace (1667-1674) writes to the Magistrates at Esopus (Wiltwyck/Kingston), ordering them "to be very Circumspect in observing the motions and intentions of the Indians especially those of the Wapingoes who are now gone to joyne with the. . .Mahikanders" in the war against the "Mohawks" (NYCD 13:419-420).

25 July 1669: Wappingos
Governor Lovelace writes to Indian agent Henry Pawling at Esopus, informing him that he had received his letters and approved of his peace efforts during the Second Mohawk-Mahican War (1662-1675), but doubted "how that peace will bee of any duration, in regard the Maquas will not accord with the Wappingos and other nacons of that side of Hudsons River and there being so great a Correspondence with them of the Esopus, Cattskile &c that hee that attack the one, must needs injure the other, since in all extremityes they will recourse one to the other" (NYCD 13:427).

26 July 1669: Wappingos
Governor Lovelace writes to Albany Magistrates informing them "that the Maquaes have made a peace with ye Esopus, Cattskill and other Indyans adjacent, but have excluded the Wappingos, which will bee an occasion of breach of it againe unlesse they will bee included, also there being so great affinity and correspondence betweene them and those other Indyans" (NYCD 13:427).

29 December 1669: Highland Indians/Wappingoes & Wickersheck &c
Governor Lovelace writes to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, during peace talks between the Mohawks and Mohicans, telling him that "I believe I can resolve your doubt concerning what is meant by ye Highland Indians amongst us, ye Wappingoes & Wickersheck &c have always beene reckoned so. And for these I dare respond to have them included in ye Genll Peace" (NYCD 13:440).

14 February 1675: Highland Indians
Albany officials listen to "Proposals by the Chiefs of the Mahikanders, made in the Fort" and their concerns following the death of Dutch mediator and Director of Rensselaerswijck, Jeremias van Rensselaer "that the Maquase [Mohawks] will come and do them harm, for he helped to make the peace between them and the Maquase. [They] Say the English and Dutch and their people are now one, and thank us that we took the trouble to make peace between them and the Maquase and that we buried the axes. . .[They] Say that before they were strong of people and had power. Then the Dutch were few, but they let them remain and live in peace. Now they are weak and are but few, and the English with the Dutch are now many. They pray to be able to live in peace among us and the English. . .[They] Say the English and the Dutch are now one and the Dutch are now English. Thus we Mahikanders, the highland Indians, and the 'western corner' [Westenhoek or Housatonic] Indians [of Wawyachtenok] are now also one.Thus they pray that they will not be exiled or destroyed by the English, something they have never done to the Christians" (Leder 1956:37-38).

"Mawhoscan Sa[c]h[e]m of the Wapping Indyans" and some of his people meet with NY Governor Sir Edmond Andros (1674-1682) declaring their intent to negotiate a peace between the Susquehannocks and the Five Nations Iroquois who had been at war for 16 years. Mawhoscan shows the Governor "24 bands [Wampum Belts] and a round circle of sewant, which they carry with them as a present" and requests that his embassy to the "Susquehannas is to have a Passe, and all persons are desired to bee helpe full to him putting him over the Rivers, or letting him quarter in their houses as hee passes along" (NYHM 24: 78-179).

15 June 1680: Highland Indians
Albany Magistrates Dirk Wessells and Johannes Provoost report that "the following Highland Indians appeared. . .viz., Kashekan, alias Calkoen; Waspacheek, alias Spek; and Pillippuwas; owners and proprietors of a certain parcel of land on the east side of Hudson's River, over against [opposite] the Danskamer; having authority from a certain Indian named Awannis, who has an interest therein, as is attested by two Sakamakers; who declare that they give and present to Arnout Cornelise Viele the aforesaid parcel of land as a free gift." The land grant, witnessed by Unannamapake the "Sakemaker of the Highland" and Paquetarent, was for three flats of land along the Casper [Pietawickquassik] Creek, the adjoining woodlands, and several small kills in the Town of Poughkeepsie, "together with the kill named Wynachkee [Wappinger Creek] on which the land lies, stretching from the [Hudson] river to the second falls called Matapan" (ERA 2:84-85).

5 May 1683: Highland Indian
Notary Public Adrien van Ilpendam records the appearance in Albany of "a Highland Indian, called Massany, who declares herewith that he has given as a free gift a bouwery to Pieter Lansingh and a bouwery to Jan Smeedes, a young glazier, also a Waterfall near the bank of the river, to build a mill thereon. The waterfall is called Pooghkepesingh and the land Minnissingh, situate on the East side of the river" (in the present City of Poughkeepsie). European witnesses Cornelis van Dyk and Dirck Wesselsen declare that they "have heard two Indians testify, one called Speck [Waespacheek] and the other Vechpaidmo, that the aforesaid Massany had surrendered the aforesaid land. . .without retaining for him or for his descendents the right to claim hereafter even a stuyver's worth from them; also that the said Indian Massany is the lawful owner and inheritor of the said land" (NYCD 13:571).

16 May 1683: Highland Indian
Albany Magistrates report that "a certain Highland Indian named Tapuas" accompanied by his hunting companions, Wattawyt, a sachem of Schodack, and "Emmenninck, a sachem of Kightamonk, as witness," proposes a mortgage to Laurence van Alen and Gerrit Lansing for "land lying on Hudson's river on the east shore obliquely {opposite] the Danskamer, being a flat of land lying on the west side of a kill named Wynachkee." The mortgage was made for land named Kightamonk, which lay opposite the land of Haverstroe, "beginning from the second falls [Matapan] where Aernout Cornelise's [Viele] claim ends." Tapuas was indebted to the two men for goods received earlier, as well as for debts taken over by them and an additional loan, all totaling forty-five beaver skins, which he promised to pay "so soon as he shall come back from hunting, but if he in the meantime shall happen to die, or shall not be able to deliver said quantity of forty-five beavers when he comes back from the hunt on which he now sets out with his companions, then he, Tapuas. . .shall be deprived of his rights in said land" (ERA 2:182-183).

8 August 1683: Wappingir Indians
"Sackoraghkigh, for himself and in the name of Megriesken, sachem of the Wappingir Indians," and other "Owners and Indian proprietors" conveys the land "from the said fresh Kill [Fishkill] or Creeke called Matteawan" to "Bejoyond the Greate Wappinger Creek or Kill called Mawenawasigh" to New York City merchants Francis Rombout and Guillian Ver Planck for "A Schedull or Perticuler of Money, Wampum and other goods Paid. . .One hund Royalls [currency], One hund Pound Powder, Two hund fathom of White Wampum, one hund Barrs of Lead, One hundred fathom of Black Wampum, thirty tobacco boxes, ten holl adges, thirty Gunns, twenty Blankets, forty fathom of Duffills, twenty fathom of stroudwater Cloth, thirty Kittles, forty Hatchets, forty Hornes, forty Shirts, forty p stockins, twelve coates of R. B. & b. C., ten Drawing Knives, forty earthen Juggs, forty Bottles, forty Knives, fouer ankers rum, ten halfe fatts Beere, Two hund tobacco Pipes &c., Eighty Pound Tobacco" (NYBP 5:72-75).

30 July 1685: Native Indians
The "Native Indians" Paighew, Bissocohquesn, Seenerwach, Packhasn, Tangonitto, Greveraet, Meraquaes, Misquenerose and Lames, convey to Robert Sanders and Myndert Harmense of Albany, "a Certaine Tract or Parcell of Land, called Minnisink; Lyeing on the East side of Hudson's River, to the North of the Land of Saveryn alias called the Baker [a partition of Schuyler's Lower Patent]" in the present City of Poughkeepsie. Incorporated as part of the Poughkeepsie or Minisinck Patent in 1686. The eastern part between the Casper and Wappinger Creeks infringed upon the Rombout Patent (NYBP 5:575-578).

20 May 1686: Native Indians
The "Native Indians" Napihampett, Quach, Nackenwow, Wauwe, Woot, Rockquamoke, Sinnick and Tochquamin, convey to Maria Sanders of Albany, "a Certaine Tract or Parcell of Land Lyeing in the Long Reach on the East Side of Hudsons River, on the Wappings Creek, Streaching up the Creeke on a Place Called Keeckachhameeck, and again Westerly on the River side to a Place Called Aquwaresinck," in the present Town of Poughkeepsie. Incorporated as part of the Poughkeepsie or Minisinck Patent in 1686 (NYBP, 5: 578-580).

26 April 1688: Natives
"Kaghqueront and other the Natives by a Lycence of Coll [Thomas] Dongan, Some time Governour of this Province" convey "Certaine Tracts of Vacant Land in Dutchesse County, on the East side of Hudsons River, back from the River between the Land of Robert Sanders and Meyndert Harmense [Poughkeepsie Patent], the Land of Peter the Brewer, the Land of Collonell Schuyler [Schuyler's Lower Patent] and the Land of Colonell Cortlandt and Company [Rombout Patent]," in the Town of Poughkeepsie. Incorporated as the Cuyler Patent in 1697 (NYBP, 7: 143-145).

15 September 1688: Wappenger
An "Indian called Magsigpen, als Graypoole" testifies to Albany Magistrates that while hunting with some Schaghticoke Indians he encountered eleven North Indians (Pennacook, Pocumtuck and other New England expatriates) on the Connecticut River who now lived in Canada that "are going to fight by order of the Governour of Canida," and that one of them was named "Quaetsietts a Wappenger of Hudson's River" (NYCD 3:561-562).

17 September 1689: Indians of the Long Reach
Former NY Governor Thomas Dongan (1683-1688) orders interpreter Robert Sanders and Ulster county officials to persuade the "Indians of the Long Reach, Wawyachtenok and Esopus" to come up to Albany on the eve of King William's War (1689-1697) "to lie out as scouts upon the borders of this county" (Ruttenber 1872: 77).

1690: Indians of the Long Reach
English officials report that the Indians of the Long Reach had accepted their invitation to unite in a war against the French, and that their head Sachem and "all the males of the tribe able to bear arms" had gone to Albany and from there to the frontier (Ruttenber 1872:178).

15 July 1691: (Wappingers)
Anqui Kanagr, Raemtagr, Wassawawogh, Manakahorint, Moakenap, Wrawerinnouw and Awanganwgrk, "then Indian Chiefs of the said Tribe of Wappingers," convey a "Certain Tract or Parcell of Land lying and being in ye highlands," to Jan Roelof Sybrandt and Lambert Dortlandt of New York City. Incorporated as part of Philipse Upper Patent in 1697 (PGP, P14, # 59; Eighteenth Century Testimonial, NYCM-LP, 18: 128).

24 June 1696: Indians, Rightful Owners
Ninham, Willem, Mattasiwanck, Quagan, and Rapawees, "Indians, [and] rightful owners," convey "the land and a waterway called Aquasing" (Crum Elbow Creek) from the Hudson River "east until the Valkil" (or Fallkill Creek), to Albany trader Hendrick Ten Eyck in the present Town of Hyde Park. Incorporated as the Great Nine Partners Patent in 1697 (FDR Heritage Museum).

13 August 1702: Land in Dutchess County
Sale of a tract of land in Dutchess County, in "the high lands on the east side of the Hudson river, beginning at a Certain Red Cedar tree marked, on the north side of the hill commonly called Anthony's nose, which is likewise the north bounds of Col. Stephanus Van Cortlandts land, or his Manor of Cortlandt, and from thence bounded by the said Hudson river as the said river runs, northerly until it comes to the Creeke river or run of water commonly called and known by the name of the great fish kill, to the northward and above the said high lands, which is likewise the southward bounds of another Tract of Land belonging unto the said Col. Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Company [Rombout Patent], and soe easterly along the said Coll. Cortlandts line and the south bounds of Coll. Henry Beekman [Beekman Patent] until it comes twenty miles or unto the Division or partition line between the Colony of Connecticut and the said Province of New Yorke, and easterly by the said Division line: Being bounded Northerly and southerly by east and west lines, unto the said Division line.The whole being bounded westward by Hudsons river, northward by the lands of Coll. Cortlandt and Company and the land of Coll. Beekman, and eastward by the partition line between the Colony of Connecticut and the Province of New Yorke, and southerly by the Manor of Cortlandt. Including therein a certain Island at the north side of the high lands called Pollepels Island." (This land was incorporated earlier as Philipse's Upper Patent in 1697, and encompassed present Putnam county and part of the Town of Fishkill). The amount of money paid was not stated. The grantors were: Tachquaran, Couwenhahum, Siengham, Shawiss, Sipowerak, Cramatacht, Wassawawogh, and Mecopap. Witnesses were: Mr. Haupe ye Indian, Amehevend, and Anackean. Other participants were Machgouwas, Terapouwes, Kechkenond, Wapatough, Whannaawhan, Werachtacus, Petawachpiet, and Metapecht.

13 August 1702: Native Indians and Proprietors. . .of land in Dutchess County
"Tachquaran, Couwenhahum, Hengham, Shawiss, Sipowerak, Cramatacht, Wassawawogh and Mecopap, native Indians and Proprietors of sundry Tracts of Land in Dutchess County," endorse a deed confirming the boundaries of Adolph Philips Upper (or Highland) Patent (PGP, P14: #56).

CHAPTER 5

FORT KITCHAWANC ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRESERVE AT CROTON POINT

Scott P. Horecky (2004)

"The Fort Kitchawanc Archaeological Site" (hereafter referred to as "Fort Kitchawanc") was the former location of a very large Native American fortified enclosure. The site is a raised plateau located on the neck of Croton Point Park, a five hundred acre peninsula extending over two miles out into the Hudson River on the east bank (Figure 5.1.). This distinctive point separates the Haverstraw Bay on the north from the Croton Bay on the south. Croton Point Park is located approximately twenty-five miles north of New York City within the jurisdiction of the Village of Croton-on-Hudson, Town of Cortlandt, Westchester County, New York.

The peninsula currently functions as a passive recreation park in the County of Westchester's park system. "Fort Kitchawanc," at the time of this writing, is in the final stages of designation as an archaeological preserve by the Westchester County Parks Department. The written proposal, as well as a full report and stewardship plan, resulted from efforts of the author and other members of the Material Archives Laboratory for Archaeology (MALFA) of the Lower Hudson Valley, a chapter of the New York Archaeological Association.

Systematic archaeological excavations have been conducted at the site throughout the last century. This archaeological testing has uncovered diagnostic European artifacts and aboriginal artifacts commingled, indicating early European-Native American contact. The major artifact recoveries were native grave goods unearthed from several burial mounds. In addition, other artifacts were associated with hearth features and oyster shell middens. Also present on this site are above-surface features from a former wooden palisade. Analysis of these remains and artifacts confirms historical records indicating the presence of a large Native American fortification on the plateau about the time of European contact or soon thereafter.

The inhabitants of the fort after European contact, according to E.M. Ruttenber's *Indian Tribes of Hudson's River* (1872: 51, 63, 77-80), possibly were one of the subgroups of Wappinger Indian peoples. The Wappinger nation, a division of Delaware stock, was one of the Algonquian groups that occupied the east side of the Hudson River. (However, see Graves 1952:6.) The total Wappinger population at the time of contact has been estimated at over thirteen thousand (Cook 1976:74). The group known as the Kitchawancs (various spellings) occupied the present upper Westchester County region with an estimated population of 500 (Cook 1976:71-72).

Mohican Seminar 3, The Journey–An Algonquian Peoples Seminar, edited by Shirley W. Dunn. New York State Museum Bulletin 511. © 2009 by The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, Albany, New York. All rights reserved.

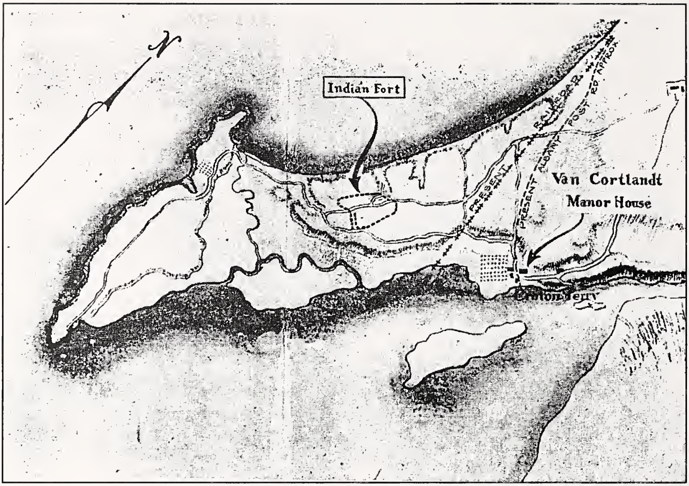

Figure 5.1. A French map of 1782 shows Croton Point. The Indians' fortified village has been plotted (dotted lines) by the Westchester County Department of Planning. (Base map from Rochambeau Collection, Map Division, Library of Congress).

KITCHAWANCS GIVE DEED FOR CROTON POINT

According to land deeds, the Kitchawanc likely abandoned the site near the end of the seventeenth century. A deed transferring Senasqua (Croton Point) to Cornelius Van Burham in 1682 lists the names of the following Kitchawanc Indians involved in the transfer: Ackemak, Janghear, Nawakies, Wattatone, Kaegara, Pewngen, Askawanes, Siggeres, Owarreiwie, Arronpack, Seoram, Geckaweck, Garbenck, Awaejhockias, Armawain, Okgan, Mennafarick, Wapekan, Sepackton, and Awemaracktow (Westchester County Records, *Liber* A, p.182). The old site is described in a letter from Philip Van Cortlandt to Egbert Benson dated 1816:

> *"There is yet the remains of a Fortified Work of Earth made on my land as you advance toward the point in a commanding situation being flanked by a salt marsh on one side and a swamp on the other and as evidence of battles several graves some of large dementions and hight was found near the work as well as stone harpoons for points of arrows" (Judd 1981:33).*

Ruttenber wrote a half century later:

"The principal Village, Kitchawonck, was at the mouth of the river which bears their name (Croton River). . .Their castle or fort, which

> *stood at the mouth of the Croton, is represented as one of the most formidable and ancient of Indian fortresses south of the Highlands. Its precise location was at the entrance or neck of Teller's Point (called Senesqua)" (Ruttenber 1872:79).*

Westchester County Historian Reginald Pelham Bolton stated, "At the entrance of the neck proper, stood the Indian Castle or Fort of Kitchawan, one of the most ancient fortresses south of the Highlands. It is said to have been erected at a very early date by the sachem Croton, as a convenient rendezvous for the assembling of war and hunting parties, and also for the object of commanding the rich treasuries of the Hudson and the wide estuary of the Croton" (Bolton 1848:195-196).

The Kitchawanc group lived in the center of a unique bio-estuary zone and enjoyed a strategic position upon the two-mile peninsula which projects into the Hudson. In addition to utilizing the Hudson River as a superhighway for transportation, the Kitchawancs enjoyed inland networks such as an ancient Indian trail now called Route 9 (Broadway), also dubbed "The Mohican Trail," that presently runs less than one hundred yards away from, and perpendicular to, the plateau.

The archaeological remains of Fort Kitchawanc are located on the neck of the peninsula on a level expanse of a sandy glacial outwash plain that lies seventy feet above mean sea level. This moraine is a deposit of the third Wisconsin 3 Glacier (Fava 2003:2). Among its unique geological conditions, the peninsula there contains great deposits of quality clay that were utilized extensively in the nineteenth-century brick manufacturing trade.

These clay deposits were not lost on the Kitchawanc for use in the creation of pottery vessels. In Scharf's *History of Westchester County*, he states "a trench was discovered on Croton Point which contained numerous fragments of earthen vessels along with charcoal indicating that there may have been a simple kiln for burning pottery" (Scharf 1886:16). Further evidence of a Woodland Period Native kiln on Croton Point was discovered as recently as1999 by primitive technologist, Barry Keegan (1999:1).

A BOUNTIFUL LOCATION

The inhabitants of Fort Kitchawanc enjoyed unimpeded access to the then bountiful oyster beds of the Croton and Haverstraw bays. An extensive salt-water marsh was located at the base of the fort and a small creek ran along the entrance hollow on the side of the plateau. This creek was called the "Tanracken" by the Kitchawancs and "Meadow Creek" by the Europeans (Westchester County Land Deeds, *Liber* N:82:89, Bolton 1848:664), and was likely employed for canoe access to the fort's entrance on the southeast side of the plateau. Presently roughly twenty-five percent of this marsh and creek exists. The Indian site's strategic position at the confluence of the Croton River and Hudson River on a sheltered salt-water bay teeming with aquatic resources and waterfowl was enhanced by these other sources of fresh potable water. The Croton River, formerly called the "Kitchawanc River" during the seventeenth century (Westchester County Land Deeds, *Liber* N:82, 89), also provided an unimpeded transportation route into the wooded interior with its available resources.

Archaic Period sites have been identified on virtually all undisturbed surfaces of the peninsula (a total of fifteen sites are on file at the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation for Croton Point). These attest to the advantageous environmental conditions this peninsula provided for prehistoric cultures. However the focus of this paper is on the site of the Late Woodland Period Kichawancs.

FEATURES OF THE FORT SURVIVE

In spite of moderate disturbance occurring over the course of time, at least three significant features of the site survive: (1) A segment of the earthwork berm that supported the palisade walls is visible. (2) The entrance hollow on the side of the plateau bluffs that decreased the vertical ascent to the fort entrance remains. 3) Two burial mounds in which it is believed various subsurface artifacts remain are intact.

The pioneering archaeologist, Mark Raymond Harrington, began research at "Fort Kitchawanc" in August, 1899, for the American Museum of Natural History Department of Anthropology, at Central Park West, New York. He conducted the earliest and most complete investigation of the site. His work was done prior to later disturbances. Harrington's report, field notes, and photos have been located by this author at the National Museum of the American Indian and copies currently are on file at the Croton Point Nature Center. These records shed light on the significance of the site and aid efforts to prevent the remaining features of this significant Native American fortification on the banks of the Hudson River from being erased.

HARRINGTON'S CONTRIBUTIONS

At the start of his fieldwork, while clearing away brush and entanglements, Harrington observed a low earthwork embankment in a definite oblong form running along the edges of the plateau bluffs. Harrington recorded the following in his field notes:

> *"A portion of the neck has been plowed, but at the time of this field work in 1899, most of it was virgin ground covered with original growth chestnut stumps and second growth timber and brush. A search through this tangle revealed the unmistakable traces of an old fort. From this we learn that the old fort was at least 1200 feet long and 600 feet in width and that its original form was oblong with rounded corners except for the southern most corner which was deeply indented [and] within this indentation was situated the entrance."*
>
> *"A low embankment, nowhere higher than 2.5 feet, nearly surrounds the neck, running close to the bluffs on the south side. The best preserved section of all was the western end, north and west of the road crossing, and here the embankment was continuous and distinct, averaging 7 feet wide, faint traces of a secondary embankment may be seen. . .these works were, in all probability, employed as a foundation for palisades" (Harrington 1899:1-9 Appendix "Earthworks on Croton Neck") (Figure 5.2.A).*

James Owen later conducted further work at the site and in his 1925 report stated the "fortified village or fort. . .was presumably enclosed by a wall or palisade of tree trunks set vertically in the ground and reinforced on both sides with a low earth embankment" (Owen 1925:4). A surviving segment of this embankment, which Harrington also reported, supporting the 1200 foot by 600 foot palisade, is present at the site. This visible feature is on the southeast corner of the plateau, south of the road adjacent to the entrance hollow (Figure 5.2., Feature B).

Measurements taken in September and October of 2002 by MALFA members established its length to be 185 feet. The embankment is clearly discernable on the surface throughout portions of the segment. However, in some areas the feature has settled into the surface plain making it difficult to observe. The contour of the surviving berm matches exactly the "rounded indentation" that Harrington refers to as the fort entrance in his site report. The current data recorded by MALFA is consistent with Harrington's site report. For example, the foundation width is precisely seven feet. However, it has been diminished from the 2.5 foot height mentioned in 1899, and today it reaches the height of several inches in its best-preserved segment. The rounded corner is consistent with the overall oblong shape. The berm's surveyed location along the

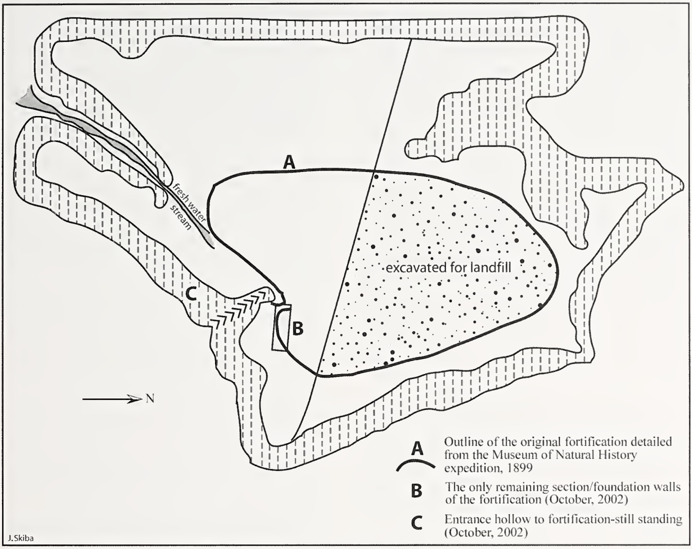
A
fresh water stream
excavated for landfill
C
B
N
A Outline of the original fortification detailed from the Museum of Natural History expedition, 1899
B The only remaining section/foundation walls of the fortification (October, 2002)
C Entrance hollow to fortification-still standing (October, 2002)
J.Skiba

Figure 5.2. A former fortification and earthworks of the Kitchawanc Indians is located on the neck of the Croton Point peninsula.

edge of the bluff corresponds exactly to Harrington's report of the feature (Harrington 1899:1-9; MALFA 2000 report is on file at CCPNC).

INDIANS RETURNED TO THE FORT SITE

In 1899, archaeology, as a science, was in its infancy. As a result, Harrington's field notes are vague in terms of tools and methodology, though he did include sketches and surveys of the fort site with measurements, artifact distribution plotting, layout of the features, and descriptive field notes which he updated in a later report of 1925. A large mantle of Virginia oyster shell three to four feet thick, as well as a large hearth, were found within the fort wall location.

According to early records of the Van Cortlandts, the Kitchawanc Indians would sometimes return to the peninsula for an oyster festival called by the Indians a "Kintecays" (dance) in the early autumn, even long after they had left the region (Harrington 1899:6).

The cooking hearths would have been in or near the dwellings in a typical Woodland Period setting, probably employing wigwams of longhouse form (Figure 5.2.). This area was identified on Harrington's diagram of his archaeological work as the "Village Site" (Harrington 1899) Unfortunately, Harrington omitted identifications of post molds that would confirm housing and palisades existed, as this was not in the scope of his investigations. Archaeologist James Owen, an associate of Harrington's, wrote of the project, "The Museum of Natural History confined its investigations to Croton Neck, with two particular objects in view. First of all to locate and map the Indian fort mentioned by Westchester historians; and second to examine the Indian burial ground reported to exist on the western end of the neck." (Owen 1925:10) Harrington did record, however, curious features within the fort and near the hearth that may have been remains of structures, as well as the shell heap. He wrote:

> *"A number of hillocks resembling mounds within the enclosure yielded nothing." And, "Near this a large pit was discovered, 4 feet deep by 8 feet wide, containing a vast quantity of small oyster shells, some helix shells, a few animal, bird and turtle bones, together with a few chips." (Harrington 1899:5-6)*

The area surveyed within the fort walls amounts to approximately four to five acres (Harrington 1925:10}. It is likely that several of the acres were employed for production of foods common to the Late Woodland Period such as corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins. For example, Harrington describes what may have been a horticultural zone:

"The woods cover nearly all the land on the south side of the Croton neck road; but on the north side near the railway there are several large clearings, some of which may be ancient" (Harrington 1899: Appendix "Earthworks on Croton Neck") .

It has been noted in historical works such as those of Ruttenber and Bolton that this fort location was not the only Kitchawanc occupation site. There was a secondary village site, called "Sackoes," that was located several miles north in the vicinity of present-day Peekskill (Shonard and Spooner 1900:26). These Westchester historians, therefore, surmised that the fortified structure was a seasonal occupation site with an emphasis on oyster harvesting, food production and maize storage.

Outside the fort walls on the east side of the entrance hollow was the location of the mound. Harrington describes the location, physical form, and dimensions of the mound as follows: "Work was begun in an oval earthwork several hundred yards to the eastward of the burial . . .having a pear shaped mound in the center 31 feet by 15 feet and about 2 feet high" (Harrington 1899:5).

The dimensions, location and positioning of the oval mound mimic a few Hopewell-influenced mound sites in the western region of New York State described by William Ritchie (Ritchie 1994:215-227). Harrington's documentation is of significance, since the site seems to be a rare southeastern occurrence of mound building, suggesting Hopewellian influence in the Lower Hudson Valley. Transmission of the mound building tradition was possibly facilitated by the use of the Hudson - Mohawk River connection to New York's well-represented western cultural sites showing Hopwellian influence.

BURIAL MOUND EXISTED

The fourth and final feature of the site is the burial mound. The cemetery was, as in the case of the oval mound feature, outside the walls of the fort on the opposite (west) side of the entrance hollow, south of the present day road. Harrington states: ". . .at one point, on the south side of the road just as it dips down into Haunted Hollow near the western end of the neck, [are located] small mounds to the number of a dozen. These are, or were about ten feet in diameter and 18 inches high." (Harrington 1899:2). Harrington excavated ten of the twelve mounds, but two were obstructed by tree roots and were not excavated. Harrington's site report states the ten excavated mounds contained full or partial skeletal remains of twelve aboriginal people. Various archaeological resources possibly remain here and elsewhere in the fort site.

The mortuary customs reported by Harrington are consistent with the customs of the New York State Late Woodland Period. According to Ritchie, burials of this period, foreshadowed by the Meadowood Phase, reflect a strong concern for the welfare of the dead, suggesting a belief system which included group bereavement rituals performed to safeguard passage of the dead to the spirit world (Ritchie 1994:197-200). Burials were likely conducted under shamanistic auspices. Harrington's excavation notes stated that all the interments were buried with heads pointing south and faces pointed to the east. The Kitchawanc burial ground's physical configuration is consistent with other Indian burial sites of New York State; typically the cemetery site is placed upon a plateau "high and prominent in the local landscape situated facing the east hinting the rising sun played a role in the ceremony" (Ritchie 1994:197).

Among the assemblage of grave goods unearthed by Harrington, stored and cared for at the American Museum of Natural History, are standard grave offerings of the period, such as projectile points, "killed" pottery, mica, various chipped or flaked lithics, and hematite (red ocher) paint stones. The presence of hematite in the Kitchawanc burial mounds served a spiritual purpose, according to Ritchie, who wrote, "The use of this substance had a symbolic significance as a quickening agent or a restorer of life from its blood red color" (Ritchie 1994:198). A most interesting artifact discovered among the grave goods was an early seventeenth-century Dutch clay pipe clutched in the hand of one of the skeletons. This unquestionably links the site to the European contact period.

It is intriguing to consider the possibility this artifact may have been the result of contact with explorer Henry Hudson and his crew, as they sailed back down the river in October, 1609 (Jameson 1909:26). Another, more likely, possibility is that Pierre and Philip Van Cortlandt of Van Cortlandt Manor had trade relations with the Kitchawancs in the seventeenth century, and this trade may have been the source of the pipe. The New York State Museum has a collection of items from the Van Cortlandt estate including a rare wooden bow that was reportedly given to Pierre Van Cortlandt by a Kitchawanc sachem (Bolton 1848:185).

The Kitchawancs possibly were one of the largest subsets of the Wappinger Indian nation which extended across present day Westchester County. Kitchawanc borders extended from the Croton River on the south to Anthony's Nose to the north, and from Pound Ridge near the Connecticut border on the east to the Hudson River on the west. Kitchawanc is an Algonquian term or phrase that means "water running swiftly" or "rapids" and, as noted, this was also the name of the river today known as the Croton River (Bolton 1848:83). The Kitchawancs called the peninsula Senasqua. This is apparently from the word Wanasqua meaning "a point." The Kitchawanc name for the area where the fortified village and earthworks were located was "Navish" meaning "grassy plains" (Beauchamp 1907, 1:129, 2:178; Graves 1952:28).

In conclusion, it is clear that this irreplaceable archaeological site should be preserved and protected. It is the author's hope and that of members of MALFA that the proposed archaeological preserve will be established by the Westchester County Parks Department. While the Fort Kitchawanc site can then be protected, with care it also can be made available for research and educational programs that will bring about a greater understanding of pre-European cultures. As a result, the Kitchawancs and their site will not be forgotten and the location can take its rightful place in New York's history.

Editor's note: In December, 2005, the Westchester County Parks Board officially designated the Fort Kitchawanc Archaeological Site at Croton Point as a Westchester County "Archaeological Preserve."

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CHAPTER 6

INDIAN OWNERS IN AND AROUND THE CATSKILLS

Shirley W. Dunn (2003)

This chapter presents some of the evidence for Native American territories in the Catskill Mountains, a modest range lying west of the Hudson River and the community of Catskill, New York. The goal of the research has been to establish which Indians claimed certain parts of the mountains. Clarifying early ownership within the Catskills can help lay to rest two unsupported theories from the past: the first says that only roving bands of Indians hunted there (Beers 1884:259), implying ownership was not established, and the second, conversely, states that the mountains belonged to the Mohawk Indians (Beers 1884:26). Neither of these statements is correct.

The first Europeans to view the peaks now known as the Catskills were aboard Henry Hudson's ship called the Half Moon. The captain and crew dallied in sight of these blue landmarks for a night and a day in mid-September, 1609 (Jameson 1909:21). While anchored, they met some Indians native to the area, who offered corn, pumpkins and tobacco as gifts. To them, the sailors gave knives and hatchets in a friendly exchange. Maps made within a few years and accounts written by the Dutch indicate these Indians were Mohicans (Dunn 1994:18, 54).

On September 17, 1609, the Dutch-sponsored explorers sailed on up the Hudson River to meetings with additional Mohicans south of present Albany, New York. As a result of these contacts and of subsequent traders' visits, the Mohican nation appeared in large print on the first detailed map of the Hudson River, made by 1614 (Dunn 1994:47). This Dutch map identified Indians of the upper half of the river as "Mahicans," the Dutch spelling. Today, the preferred spelling is "Mohican," the name by which the surviving Mohican nation is federally recognized. At that early date, Mohican-controlled land extended west along the Mohawk River as well as east into New England.

MOHICANS IN EARLY CONTACT WITH DUTCH

The Hudson Valley Mohicans welcomed the Dutch explorers and subsequent traders and even protected them from possible enemies (Dunn 1994:32). A small Dutch trading post was built on a Mohican island a mile south of present Albany in 1614. This post was manned for about three years. Continued Mohican cooperation made it possible for the Dutch in1624 to build Fort Orange nearby on the western shore of the river. These two early Dutch settlements in the Hudson Valley should rank in importance with any of the historic contact sites of New England or Virginia, but, instead, they are frequently overlooked by uninformed writers based outside of New York.

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The Mohicans were a numerous and influential nation, holders of a large territory centered on the Hudson River. The Catskill Creek, emptying into the Hudson River near where Henry Hudson paused in 1609, was the site of an important Mohican community in the seventeenth century. The name, *Cats kil*, which first appeared on a map made between 1626 and 1630 (Figure 6.1.), seems to have come from a leader of the Mohicans, who was known to the Dutch as "Cat" in 1626 (Jameson 1909: 86-87). He apparently lived in a village on a creek, which thus became Cats kil, or Cat's Creek, *kil* or kill meaning "creek." When the term appeared on a map of the early seventeenth century, therefore, the reference was to the chief and became, by extension, the creek. The transfer of the name to the mountains came much later. The mountains usually were called the Blue Hills in Indian deeds and on early patents.

This creek's north branch, which today is called the Catskill Creek, rises in foothills north of the mountains and runs southeast. The southern branch of the creek, called the Kaaterskill (pronounced Cauterskill), origi-

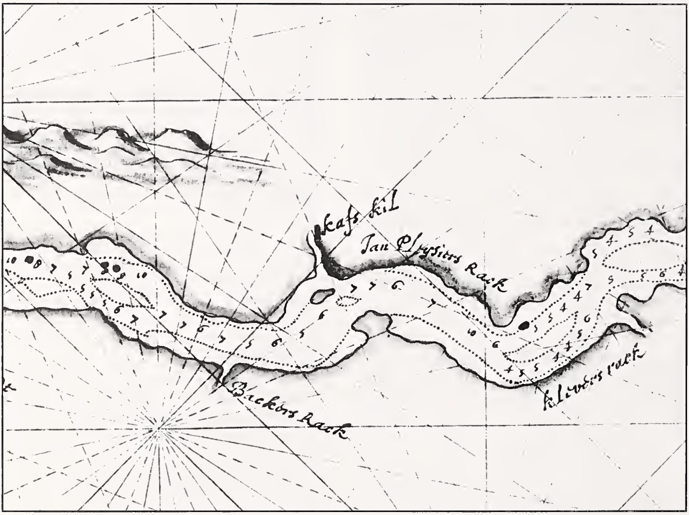


Figure 6.1. The author believes "Cats kil" (Cat's Creek) refers to a Mohican sachem known to the Dutch in 1626 as "Cat" (Jameson 1909:86). The name appeared on this detail of a c.1626-1630 Hudson River sailing chart titled "Noort Rivier in Niew Neerlandt," probably drawn for Peter Minuit. Mountains behind the creek represent the Catskills, little known at the time. On this sailor's map, north is to the right. (Map Division, Library of Congress).

nates in adjacent swampy lakes, long known as North Lake and South Lake, near present Haines Falls, on the eastern escarpment of the mountains. With a spectacular waterfall at the top, this stream drops down a broad mountain ravine called the Kaaterskill Clove and runs east across extensive flats towards present Catskill village. The two branches join before entering the Hudson.

THE ESOPUS INDIANS

On the west shore, beginning several miles below present Catskill, lived the Indians of Esopus, who were of Delaware stock. According to a document at the New York State Library, their upper limits along the Hudson River were outlined by a creek, north of today's Saugerties village, running west to the mountains (NYS Library, Manuscripts, mss. 6819). Used by a Dutch settler to power his sawmill, the stream gave its name to the nearby village of Saugerties. On some early Dutch maps the Indians of Esopus were called the Waranawankongs or Waranawonks. As many of them lived along the Esopus Creek, they usually were known to the Dutch as the Esopus Indians, the word Esopus probably deriving from the Algonquian term "seepus," meaning creek. Having shared a remote ancestry, the Mohicans and the Esopus Indians were friendly neighbors (Heckewelder 1876:52-53).

Land deeds help establish where different native groups held territory. Over two centuries, many colonial deeds were obtained from the Native Americans. For example, a 1708 Mohican Indian deed covered the present Kiskatom-Palenville area (called in the deed Kyskitom-meetshe).This tract began immediately east of the base of the Catskill mountains (ILP 12:88). According to other deeds, Mohican land also included much of today's Albany County, north of the Catskills (Dunn 1994: Appendix A). Deeds given in the 1730s and 1740s by Mohican Indian owners for parts of the present towns of Windham, Cairo, and Durham in Greene County establish Mohican ownership of the northwestern slopes and foothills of the Catskills. (Dunn 1994:308, 309; Dunn 2000:328-331). However, the deed for the Hardenbergh Patent, discussed below, establishes Esopus land ownership along the heights of the Catskill Mountains, down the south slopes, and in lands south of the mountains.

Not far from the twin lakes mentioned above, the Schoharie Creek rises near Platte Clove, south of present Tannersville, in a swamp lying on the flank of Round Top Mountain. The Schoharie Creek rather unexpectedly runs west, rather than toward the Hudson, traveling more than sixteen meandering miles before it curves north on its long trip toward the Mohawk River. The final section of the Schoharie Creek, flowing from the western foothills of the Catskills north to the Mohawk, was traditionally Mohawk territory. The Mohawk Indians, the easternmost tribe of the Five Nations, were from a different language stock than the Mohicans and Esopus, who spoke Algonquian tongues.

The Mohawks had been enemies of the Mohicans in the pre-historic past and became their opponents again in the early historic period after the Dutch arrived. During the Dutch colonial period the aggressive Mohawks coerced tribute from many unwilling New England and New York tribes, including the Mohicans and the Esopus. The Mohawks appear on early maps as the Maquaas, located near the Mohawk River.

The Esopus, the Mohicans and the Mohawks, three important Native American nations, surrounded the Catskill Mountains early in the seventeenth century. This chapter addresses which parts of the mountains were claimed by each native group when Indian land was obtained by a group of land speculators, led by Johannis Hardenbergh. Under English law, the King held rights to all land, but the presence of native Indian occupants was recognized, and they had to be paid for their land before a parcel could be patented. In these cases, a deed was written which Indian owners "signed" with marks or totemic pictures. Usually they were paid for the land with trade goods.

As European settlement spread, by 1700 a commercial landing had been established at Catskill, colonial farms and mills functioned along the stream called the Catskill, and the nearby Coxsackie and Coeymans neighborhoods on the Hudson River had been occupied by early Dutch and English residents. The colonial population at Esopus, present Kingston, a Dutch village established in 1652, had expanded to a second town at present Hurley, and colonial farms surrounded these two villages southeast of the mountains. In the early eighteenth century the Schoharie Valley on the west side of the Catskill Mountains was shared by the Mohawks with Dutch farm families and refugee Palatine settlers from the Hudson Valley. The rugged Catskills in the middle, however, resisted European settlement.

THE HARDENBERGH PATENT

As early as 1708, a patent called the Great Patent or the Hardenbergh Patent took in the southern two thirds of the Catskill Mountains and a large part of what was then Ulster County. At the time, Ulster, one of the original ten New York counties formed in 1683, had not been divided. The large patent included parts of several counties formed later, such as Greene, Delaware, Schoharie, and Sullivan. In the mountains, the Great Patent covered the later "towns of Lexington and Halcott, all but a very small corner of Hunter, nearly the whole of Jewett, and considerable portions of Prattsville and Ashland," according to a county history (Beers 1884:26) (Figure 6.2.).

The Hardenbergh Patent was a controversial document. Both Indians and colonial landowners asserted there was fraud involved in the acquisition of the land. Neighboring Kingston protested the Hardenbergh Patent's extensive boundaries. The Indian complaints, discussed in the following text, related mostly to the western boundary of the tract.

In an attempt to discourage excessive landholding and in a move to encourage population growth, the governor and council of New York in 1707 set a limit of 2000 acres for any single colonial buyer (NYCD 5:25-26). Some wealthy individuals devised ways around the limit by recruiting figureheads to appear on the deed to a large tract. Another trick was for acquaintances to front for unnamed government officials who were forbidden to obtain land (Quinlan 1873:10). In addition, a common complaint of both colonials and natives noted the stretching of boundaries to take in more land than the deed or the petition to the Council originally requested. The Hardenbergh Patent was challenged over the years as an example of such fraudulent practices in land acquisition, but it never was declared invalid by a colonial court.

Johannis Hardenbergh first acquired a tract at present Woodstock in the Catskills early in 1702 (Evers 1972:48; O'Callaghan 1864, 3:41). In 1704 a survey of land was requested of the Governor's Council by Cornelius Cool and other farmers of Hurley for pastures and woodlots lying between Kingston and the mountains, then known as the Blue Hills (ILP 4:26). This request posed a threat to Hardenbergh and his father-in-law, lawyer Jacob Rutsen of Marbletown, a wealthy land speculator, who wanted more land in the Woodstock area. Although the Governor's Council in October, 1704, ordered Surveyor General Augustine Graham to survey land for farmer Cool and his neighbors, no survey was done until June, 1707. This seems intentional. During the interim, Hardenbergh gathered fellow investors, including, secretly, Surveyor Graham (Ulster County Deeds DD:475), and they applied to the Council for a "small tract of vacant land" which included the parcel requested by the farmers (ILP 4:77).

In July, 1706, the Governor's Council considered and approved the petition of Hardenbergh and his associates, who were nominally Leonard Lewis, Philip Rokeby, William Nottingham, Benjamin Fanuel, Peter Fauconer,

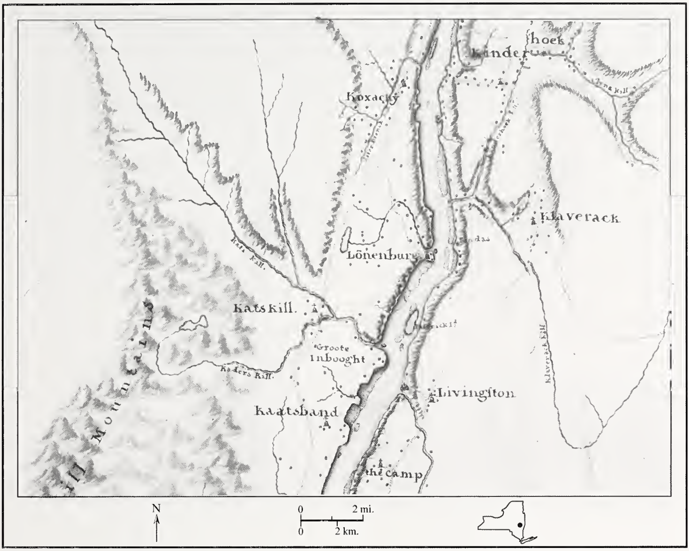


Figure 6.2. This c.1757 map shows lakes later called North Lake and South Lake in the "Catskill or Blew Mountains." The Kaaterskill, the south branch of the Catskill Creek, originates in the lakes. The boundary of the Hardenbergh Patent ran from the Delaware River east along the mountaintops to the two lakes and down the Kaders Kill (Kaaterskill). It went inland to Kingston and Rochester, then west to the Delaware River. The map is not to scale ("A Map of the Province of New York and Part of New Jersey," Huntington Library, San Marino, California).

and Robert Lurting, for a license to buy land in Ulster County adjoining the bounds of Marbletown and Rochester, from the Indians. The angry petitioners of Hurley sued early in 1707 to prevent the granting of any patent to Johannes Hardenbergh and his company for the land the farmers previously had requested (ILP 4:88).

By July 31, 1706, lawyer Jacob Rutsen of Marbletown, the father-in-law of Hardenbergh, had signed an unusual agreement with an Esopus Indian chief called Nanisinos. For two hundred pounds, Rutsen obtained a promise of lands northwest of the town of Marbletown in Ulster County "called or known by the Indian names of moghogwagsinck [on the east branch of the Delaware River] kawiensinck [present Pine Hill area] pakatagkan menaghenonck being a great Island [in the east branch of the Delaware], matagherack oghkananteponck and passighkawanonck which said tracts and parcels of Land Lyes upon the fish kill or River [the Delaware] that runs toward Minisinck and several other other Rivers Creeks and branches that waters in the said fish kill or River. . ." The original of this agreement is on file at Kingston's Senate House, a New York State Historic Site.

According to information given years later by Esopus Indians to Surveyor William Cockburn, who drew a map of the area in 1771, all of these Indian place names except *oghkananteponck* were on the east branch of the Delaware or on tributaries to it. Oghkananteponck, the exception, was on the west branch of the Delaware. Cockburn obtained his information through an interpreter from John Paulin and Sapan, two Esopus Indians (Evers 1972:152).

ESOPUS INDIANS GIVE DEEDS

The unusual option obtained by Rutsen from Nanisinos would not be exercised, according to the text of the document, provided Nanisinos sold the premises within six weeks on Rutsen's order "for a Reasonable Indian purchase." Apparently Johannis Hardenbergh was the intended purchaser and the option from Nanisinos was expected to forestall the Indians from selling land to any other buyers including the farmers of Hurley. Although more than six weeks had elapsed, two deeds apparently fulfilling the required Indian purchase were obtained from Nanisinos on March 22, 1707, for Indian land which was to be in Johannis Hardenbergh and company's patent (ILP 4:92, 93). On June 19, therefore, Hardenbergh and others petitioned the governor for a land grant, saying they had now purchased the land from the Indians, as permitted by the license. They delivered the Indian deeds to the Council. The seven glibly promised they were individuals "desiring to settle and improve the Land," as settling a portion of a land grant was one of the requirements for obtaining title. In fact, it was many years before the rocky Catskill land which was eventually included was even surveyed, let alone settled. The petition was "read in Council and ordered to be on the Table till further order" (ILP 4:91). The delay was doubtless due to the controversy with the farmers of Hurley.

One of the two Indian deeds obtained in March, 1707, is on file at the New York State Archives. It reads:

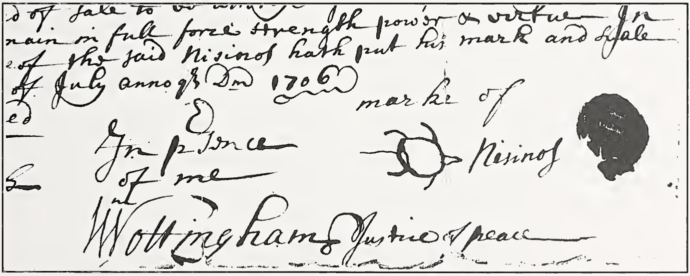
> *To all Christian and other people whatsoever to whom this p'sent writing Shall or May Come Nanisinos an Esopian native Indian one of the sachems Rightful Lord owner and proprietor of several tracts of Land in the County of Ulster Sends greeting NOW KNOW yee that the said Nanisinos for sundry good Causes him herewith moveing but more and Especially for and in consideration of a Certain Sume of Sixty pounds Currant Money of New York to him in hand payd before the Execution of these presents by Johannis Hardenbergh of Kingstown in the said County of Ulster mench'd [mentioned] Hath given granted bargained Released and sold and by these p'sents doth for him his heirs and survivors freely and absolutely give grant bargaine Release and sell unto the said Johannis hardenbergh and to his heirs and assigns for Ever all that tract of Land Lying and being in the County of Ulster aforesaid Running from Certain hills that Lye on the Southeast Syde of the Meadow or Cow land that Lyes on the fish Creek River or kill [the Delaware] and Mountains that Range from the blew hills [the Catskills] North west ten miles and stretches northeasterly on the brow of said hills as they Range to the bounds of the County of Albany and southeasterly on the brow of said hills as they range to opposite the west Corner of Marble town bounds and still further southwesterly with the full breadth from the northeast boundarie of Rochester [here there is an illegible line on the fold of the deed] southeast [illegible word] to a Certain fall in the Rondout Creek Called by the Indians hoonckh which is the northwest bound of the Land Called Napenach belonging to Jacob Rutsen and Jan Jansz Bleeker together with all fowls meadows marches*

[marshes] swamps pools ponds waters water-courses Rivers Creeks streams Runs and brooks and all other profitts benefitts hereditaments and apurtanences thereunto belonging or in any wise apurtaining TO have and to hold . . . within the bounds and Limmits above expressed unto him the said Johannis Hardenbergh his heirs and assigns and. . . the said Nanisinos promises and Engages to free and warrant said granted premises against all Indians that may or shall Claime any Right in the same In Wittness thereof he hath hereunto putt his hand and Seale in Kingstown this 22d day of March and in the Sixth year of her Majesties Reigne Anno Domine 1706/7 [i.e. 1707] (Indorsed Land Papers 4:92).

The deed was signed by Nanisinos with a drawing of a turtle (Figure 6.3). No other Indians were mentioned. Others present were Jacob Swaen, Willem Schepmoes, and a Justice of the Peace named Wottingham. This 1707 deed for land supposedly adjoining the limits of Marbletown and Rochester actually took in a large territory of thousands of acres to the north of those communities. Indeed, it extended to the heights of the Catskill Mountains where they ran along the Albany County line of the time and included present Prattsville, Hunter and Tannersville.. Greene County did not yet exist.

A second Indian deed listed under the same date is described as a tract of land in Ulster County "extending from the northwest bounds of Marbletown, to a certain place called Kawienesinck [present Pine Hill], stretching northeast to a certain creek or kill, called by the Indians Anquathkonckkill, and southwesterly to the west corner of Marbletown." (O'Callaghan 1864, 4:93) This parcel took in a piece of land not included in the first deed. Unfortunately, because the second Indian deed has been missing from the files for many years, the names of the Indians involved are not available.

The two Indian purchases included far more land than the small tract near Woodstock which Hardenbergh and associates had originally requested and more than the 14,000 acres seven men would be entitled to obtain. If these Indian deeds were interpreted correctly to Nanisinos, he should have known how much land was included. Possibly he was merely describing the land he controlled. As the brow



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2. of the said Nisinos hath put his mark and Seale
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ed
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Wottingham Justice of peace

Figure 6.3. The Esopus sachem, Nanisinos, drew a turtle as his "mark" on this 1706 option for his land. The document secured a large tract for Johannes Hardenbergh and his company. The pictographic signature indicates Nanisinos belonged to the turtle clan (Indorsed Land Papers 4:92, New York State Archives).

of the mountains was mentioned, presumably he knew whether the Esopus Indians had rights to all of the land within the boundaries listed. Sixty pounds would have been a large and welcome sum to obtain for the use of Indian land. Unfortunately, Nanisinos' understanding about the permanence of sales when he gave these deeds is not on record.

The next step for Hardenbergh and company was to obtain a patent for their land. Their February, 1708, petition for a patent contained somewhat different wording than the Indian deed. This document asked for "land beginning at ye sandbergh or hills at ye N.E. corner of Ebenezer Willson & Co. at Minissink, thence northwesterly to ye Fish kill or river [the Delaware], and so to ye head thereof, including the same, thence to the head of a small river, called Cartright's kill [head of the Kaaterskill], and so by said kill to ye northernmost bounds of Kingstown, on said kill, thence by ye bounds of Kingston, Hurley, Marbletowne, Rochester and other patented lands to the place of beginning" (O'Callaghan 1864, 4:112). This description did not mention the mountains and omitted landmarks south of Cartright's kill. Moreover, the bounds of the town of Kingston were not on the Kaaterskill. Such incomplete deed descriptions illustrate how boundaries could be manipulated.

Nevertheless, neither the Mohicans, whose land bordered parts of the grant on the north line, nor the Mohawks, situated on the Schoharie to the northwest, made any protest at the time about the two Esopus Indian deeds which extended into the mountains. It is possible the full extent of the grant was not widely known, as later the Mohawks made a protest about a land sale on the Schoharie Creek near their village. The seeming right of the Esopus chief to convey an extensive quantity of land extending north to the Albany County line as it then existed, however, helps to establish that the heights of the Catskills were Esopus territory.

Long before, during the Esopus War, the Esopus Indians had moved their Dutch captives and their own Indian families into the mountains for protection (NYCD 13:181, 200). This, too, was a sign of ownership. The Esopus had felt free to seek safety in the Catskills during that war not only because the terrain provided hiding places but because the mountains were part of their land.

Nanisinos' possessions, however, seem to have extended only to the east branch of the Delaware River. The later claim that he sold land west of the east branch of the Delaware River repeatedly was denied by other Indians. A lawyer for the Hardenbergh heirs in the 1760s stated that Nanisinos had rights to land between the two branches of the Delaware which came to him through his mother, Doesto. Doesto lived in the Rondout Valley near Warwarsing and had been given the Delaware River lands by the Mohawks, the lawyer reported. (Evers 1972:51) Doesto was a real person. According to a record of March, 1715, "Doesto an Esopus Indian woman and one of the Sachimeets [chiefs] of sd. Indians in the County of Ulster, and Awarawat and Octperawim, her two sons and Asuchtwichtoga, her Daughter" were lawful owners of several tracts of land in Ulster County. (Ulster County Deeds, Book BB:380; Evers 1972:728, Notes 13, 14). There was no direct mention of Nanisinos in this deed, although he could have been known by another name. In any case, any right to land between the upper branches of the Delaware as a result of a Mohawk gift would indicate the section was not original Esopus territory.

Nanisinos, who also was known as Nisinos, probably had only a small number of followers. The Esopus Indians had been reduced in population and displaced about forty years earlier when Peter Stuyvesant's troops attacked them on behalf of the Dutch colonial inhabitants of Wiltwyck (Dunn 1994:207). After the Esopus wars ended in 1664, large parts of Esopus territory were sold or ceded under pressure to the colonial government by members of the tribe. In the eighteenth century, therefore, many Esopus families were living elsewhere, some with Delawares along the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania (Folts 2005:33), a number among the Wappingers (Smith, Chapter 4, this volume) and a number with the Mohicans in various locations including in Greene County (Dunn 1994:200, 207). In testimony before Sir William Johnson, Johannis Hardenbergh later stated he bought land for his patent "from the Mahicanders [Mohicans] or River Indians." (Johnson Manuscripts 18:102) The term "River Indians" meant the Stockbridge Mohicans to Sir William Johnson (JP 1:735) and to Hardenbergh in the 1750s, and even in Massachusetts in the 1730s the Mohicans were commonly known as the River Indians (Hopkins 1734:2). Occasionally the term also was used to include other Indians who lived along the Hudson River, including the Esopus.

Nanisinos or Nisinos clearly was not a Mohican. He appears to be the same man whose name was spelled also as Nenesine and who was nicknamed "Nesie." An Esopus chief, he and a few of his Esopus followers in the 1730s and 1740s signed some of the same deeds as Mohicans and were associated with them in the Catskill area. In 1734, with several Mohicans, Nesie sold land on the Schoharie Creek in the Catskill foothills and was among those accused by the Mohawks of stealing Mohawk land by doing so (Dunn 1994:308-309). Associated Indians, both Esopus and Mohican, appeared with "Nesie" on Hardenbergh Patent deeds. As the two groups mingled, it was difficult for outsiders to know to which Indian nation particular individuals belonged. However, the original deeds for the Hardenbergh land in the Catskills were clearly Esopus territory, granted by an acknowledged Esopus chief.

THE PATENT SURVIVES

The Hardenbergh company had a close call in obtaining a patent. By early 1708, Lord Cornbury, governor of New York, had become so unpopular that he was about to be replaced. The official announcement of his dismissal was in transit from England. While under this cloud, in April, Cornbury finally approved the Hardenbergh Patent. A deal had been struck to settle the claim of the Hurley farmers: They were given a parcel of land to be held in common for pasture and woodlots, and they were allowed to buy a small piece of the Hardenbergh grant for pasture. On their part, Hardenbergh and company obtained a vast territory in the Catskill Mountains as well as extensive farm land and mill sites south of the mountains (ILP 4:115). Estimates of the area obtained range from one and a half million to two million acres (Beers 1884:26).

A new governor, Lord Lovelace, came to New York but died a few months after his arrival without taking any action on the patent. The following year, 1710, Governor Robert Hunter arrived to take up his post. Hunter found the New York colony threatened by a potential French invasion from the north and, deeply involved with this crisis, took no time to investigate questionable land grants. The hostilities of the period, during "Queen Anne's War," lasted until 1713. Absent scrutiny of its secret partners and extended limits, the Hardenbergh Patent survived.

LOCAL INDIANS CONFIRM PATENT PAYMENTS

Major Johannis Hardenbergh scrambled to defend the boundaries of his company's holdings when nearby landowners attempted to extend their own boundaries into his territory. Chief among these was the City of Kingstown (Kingston), which held a tract north of the city for firewood and pasture. Later a challenge came from Col. John Bradstreet, who requested land between the Delaware River's east and west branches as a reward for his war services (Evers 1972: 47-50).

In light of boundary disputes, in September, 1726, Johannes Hardenbergh, by then a merchant of Kingstown, obtained a document from area Indians confirming past payments to them for land in Ulster County "amounting to a total of one hundred and eleven pounds to them at various times. . .since 1707." In this confirmation document, preserved at the Senate House State Historic Site, Kingston, New York, both Esopus Indians of Ulster County and Mohican Indians of Albany County were included, as the deed indicated. The confirmation was given by Nanoghquay and "divers others Native Indians of Esopus and Albany County." Signers besides Nanoghquay (also spelled Nawaquay) were Naalepent, Quagatem, Abell, Amackum, Masinamek, and Wannolowes, and witnesses were Saewhalamp, Tawehas, Saelhakenment, and Maimesghtagkan. The names of a few of these natives appeared on other deeds: Nanoghquay or Naunoquin in 1724 was among Mohicans who gave a deed for land at Westenhook on the Housatonic River. The witness, Tawehaes, was a brother of Mohican chief Ampamet at Schodack. Tawehaes had been among Mohican proprietors who conveyed Tachkanik [Taconic] on the Roelof Jansen Kill to Robert Livingston in 1685 (Dunn 1994:299).

Well into the 1700s, Mohicans continued to live west of present Catskill. One location was at present Freehold, Greene County, according to an Indian deed (Dunn 2000:149, 268-269; ILP 14:9). Mohicans in the 1740s and 1760s sold parcels of Mohican land north of the Hardenbergh Patent line to the family of area resident Martin Van Bergen. The Mohicans had a century-long friendly association with the Van Bergen family in Greene County, going back to a purchase in 1678 and including additional sales as late as1766 (Dunn 1994:303; ILP II:325, 328, 339, 341) (Figures 6.4 and 6.5).

While the Van Bergen transactions did not cause any trouble, three 1734 land sales angered the Schoharie Mohawks. The Mohawks accused the River Indians of selling Mohawk land to Vincent Matthews, Michael Dunning, and Daniel Denton. The Mohawk sachems described the land sold as in the Blew Hills "along Each side of Chawtickagnack Creek [to] the Schoharies Creek and along Each Side of the Schoharies Creek to the Nearer falls to Schoharie. . . ." (ILP 11:104, 105, 106, 120). Chawtickagnack Creek is now known as Batavia Kill.

Two of the tracts, those of Matthews and Denton, seemingly were within the borders of the Hardenbergh Patent, on the northwest side of the Catskill Mountains along the Albany County line. The first tract began at a spruce pine tree marked with the letters MVB. These were the initials of Marten Van Bergen, who owned neighboring parcels obtained from the Mohicans; these were never contested by the Mohawks. The tract of Denton is described as "Bounded along each side of Chawtickignank creek, to the Schoherres creek. . ." (ILP 11:104). This land stopped at the Schoharie Creek.

The deed given to Dunning in August, 1734, suggests the problem area. Dunning's document describes a purchase of 2000 acres of land "on the West Side of the Blew Hills of Catskill bounded along Each Side of Chawtickagnack Krick to the Schowerres Krick and then along on Each side of the Afore Said Schowherres Krick to the nearest fall[s] to Schoherre" (ILP 11:105). The fact that the land was on both sides of the Schoharie Creek, and then also pushed north along the Schoharie Creek to the falls brought this sale closer to the Mohawks' Schoharie village than other land sales had come. On October 3, the new owners asked for a patent (O'Callaghan 1864, 11:114).

On October 5, a survey of the three tracts described them as on the creeks "called Chawtiekignack and Schohary Kill," containing in all 6000 acres (ILP XI: 120). These three tracts were combined under Matthews' name and patented as the Batavia Patent (Calendar of Council Minutes 1902:322; Beers 1884:25; map, O'Callaghan 1849 V1:420) (Figure 6.6.). A local history describes the Batavia Patent as including parts of the towns of Windham and Ashland (Beers 1884:25). But this characterization overlooks Dunning's holding which extended north along the Schoharie Creek on the west side of the creek.

This proximity to the Mohawk location

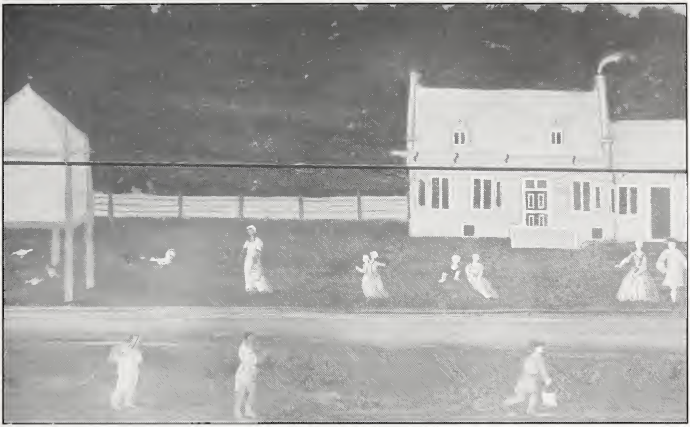

Figure 6.4. A detail from "Van Bergan Overmantel," a c.1733 painting on wooden panels, shows two Native Americans passing the farm of Marten Van Bergen near Leeds, New York. While the natives' identity is unknown, only ten miles away was the village of the Mohican sachem, M'toksin, at present Freehold. (Courtesy Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown, New York.)

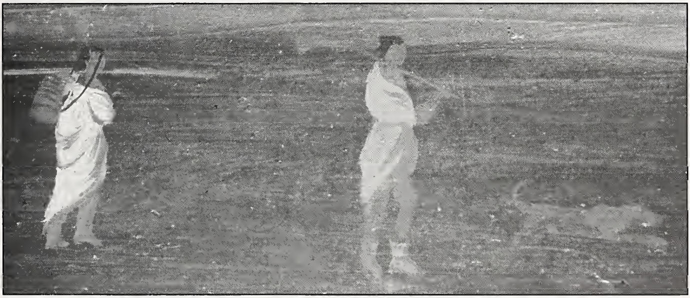

Figure 6.5. Native Americans shown in the painting titled "Van Bergen Overmantel" were wrapped in blankets and wore moccasins. The woman also wore leggings. She carried a pack, using a tumpline, while the man rested a gun over his shoulder. For more information about Indian dress, see Chapter 7. (Detail from a photo by Patricia Drumm Laskovski, courtesy Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown, New York.).

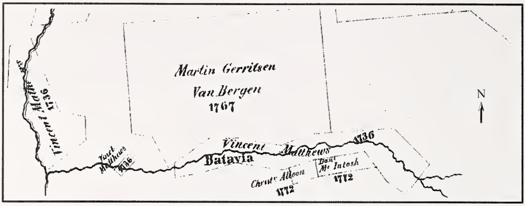

Figure 6.6. A map of patents made by Simeon DeWitt, New York's Surveyor General, locates tracts sold by the River Indians in 1734 on the Batavia Kill and on the Schoharie Creek at left. These were consolidated by Vincent Matthews into the Batavia Patent. The sale of Indian land on the Schoharie Creek brought protests from the Mohawks (map: O'Callaghan 1849, 1:420).

apparently brought the outburst against the whole parcel. The Mohawks sent their angry cry to "Our Brother the Governour of the Province of New York" protesting that seven River Indians had sold about 6000 acres of land which lay near the Mohawks' Schoharie castle (village). The land, they said, had been reserved by the Mohawks for their own use for hunting or raising corn. They complained that the River Indians were thieves who had no right to this land, as it "was possessed by us and our fathers Great Grandfathers Ever Since the Sun Shone" (ILP 11:106). The Mohawks threatened to attack if justice was not done. A 1760 letter written by Sir William Johnson contained Richard Shuckberg's recollection of the 1734 incident: Two Mohawk chiefs of Schoharie, named Seth and Hance Wey, Shuckberg wrote, "Summoned the Esopus or Delawares to a Meeting & told them that if they ever attempted to Sell any Land Westward of Cattskill Hills they would destroy them. . ." (quoted in Olde Ulster, Vol. III, November 1907).

Despite the reference to the Delawares, some leaders of the group accused of selling Mohawk land were Mohican, not Esopus. Leaders of both Algonquian nations were involved. The accused sellers were Sinhow, Kagawap, Pawan, Namakeme, Kekogua, Nesie, and Aghkeame, and a witness to the deeds was named Mamtowat. "Nesie" was Nenesine (Nanisinos, Nisinos), the Esopus chief. Kagawap (also known as as Kagaheet) and Namakeme (also spelled Wanakeme) were identified as Mohicans in a deed of 1741 for land north of Kinderhook. Sinhow, who signed Mohican deeds ranging from the Housatonic to near Kinderhook, most likely was Ampamet, the Mohican chief, or one of his brothers. The brothers used the name Sinhow combined with their own names, in the manner of a surname (ILP 13:111; Dunn 1994:311; Dunn 2000:363).

The Mohawk sachems of Schoharie in their petition described in words similar to those in the Dunning deed the land under protest as being in the "Blew Hills" of the Catskills "along Each side of Chawtickagnack Creek to the Schoharies Creek and along Each Side of the Schoharies Creek to the Nearer falls to Schoharie. . . ." A map showing the Mohawk's Schoharie wigwam, the falls, and a "part of the Catskill Hills" was submitted with their petition (Land Papers 11:106) (Figure 6. 7.). The Mohawk drawing identifies Chawtickagnack Creek and shows the "Schohory wigwam" near a landmark hill later called Vroman's Nose.

The Mohicans may have believed the three parcels were on Mohican land. There is ample evidence for a Mohican presence on parts of

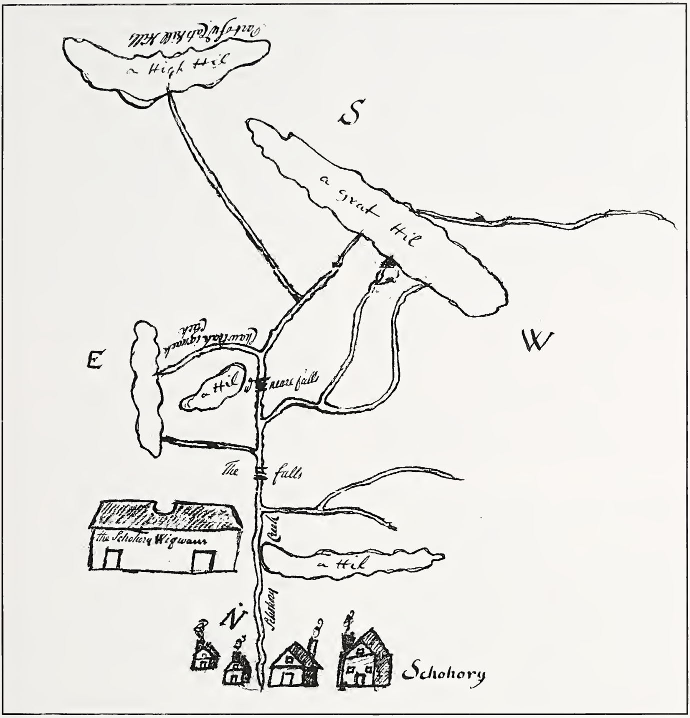
part of Catskill Hills
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Figure 6.7. This sketch map of their neighborhood accompanied an angry Mohawk letter to the governor about land sales by the River Indians. The "hil" at right is presently called Vroman's Nose. Chawtiakignack Creek (upside down near letter "E") is the Batavia Kill. At the top is "part of the Catskill Hills" (Indorsed Land Papers 11:06, New York State Archives).

the Schoharie. In 1631, a tract on the west side of the Hudson River was sold to Kiliaen Van Rensselaer by the Mohicans. The land extended "two days' journey inland" (VRB 1908:181-183). The definition of a day's journey varies from deed to deed. In 1685, when the Van Rensselaers were granted a new patent by the English, their property line was set at twenty-four miles inland on each side of the Hudson River.

Moreover, as a result of a Mohawk invitation first voiced in 1687, and repeated in 1703 (Leder 1956, 130, 189-190), Mohicans from the Hudson Valley established a village close to the Mohawk's own castle on the Schoharie Creek near Middleburgh. This Mohican village may have been the one that was noted by Palatine leader and Indian negotiator, Conrad Weiser, in 1713, according to Paul Wallace (1945:25). There were numerous later references in the Johnson Papers to a Mohican settlement close to the Mohawk's lower castle (JP 4:344-45; 6:735; 4:215-16; 2:873-4; 3:932-35; 10:563-4, 568-9, 886, 894). As late as 1763, Sir William Johnson's report on the northern Indians contains a listing of two Mohawk villages on the Mohawk River, with "a few emigrants at Schohare about 16 miles from Fort Hunter (O'Callaghan 1849:27).

Based on archeological excavations, the Mohican village adjacent to the Mohawk castle has been identified by researcher Vincent Schaefer as near Vrooman's Nose (Schaefer 1983:36, 37). The Native Americans of the Vroman's Nose area were known as the "Schoharie Indians" (Mattice 1980:2).

As late as 1766, Mohicans felt they had a claim to land on the Schoharie. In that year Catskill Mohicans gave a release to colonial buyers of all their remaining territory which included, they stated, some land on both sides of the Schoharie Creek. This Schoharie land was north of the Hardenbergh Patent and south of Rensselaerswyck, which puts it in the area protested by the Mohawks. The land released by the Mohicans began at the Hudson River. The description of the territory sold makes it clear the Mohicans accepted the Hardenbergh Patent line as the separation between their land and the land of the Esopus. The deed read:

"Beginning on Hudson's River opposite to the South end of the Island commonly called John Ryerse's Island [Smack's or Shad Island, near present Bethlehem, Albany County] lying in the said river and running West from the said River twelve Miles, thence North to the line of the Colony of Rensselaerwyck thence along the said Line as it runs Westerly to the Schoharie Kill thence across the said Kill to the North bounds of the Patent formerly Granted to Johannes Hardenbergh and others commonly called the Great Patent thence along the bounds of the said last mentioned Patent as the same runs Southeastwardly to the head of the Katers Creek or Kill upon the several courses of the same down to the mouth thereof where it empties itself into Hudson's River and thence on the stream of Hudsons River to the place of Beginning" (Van Bergen Family Papers, mss 14665, Manuscripts and Special Collections, New York State Library).

LAND BETWEEN THE BRANCHES OF THE DELAWARE

For years, management of the Hardenbergh Patent was entrusted to Johannes Hardenbergh by the shareholders. As time passed, many of the early partners died, leaving their interest in the patent to heirs. Others sold their shares. The portions were divided among their subsequent heirs. In the 1740s, Robert, the middle-aged son of Robert Livingston, Sr., bought large parts of the Hardenbergh Patent from various owners. Soon he and a few partners owned one third of the patent. In 1739, to determine portions, an attempt to survey the boundaries and divide the patent was begun. This effort was firmly halted by Esopus Indians in the Delaware River area. They maintained that the land between the east and west branches of the Delaware had never been sold to Hardenbergh. The Indians claimed the original sale of 1707 was bounded by the east branch of the Delaware River. In addition, there was dissent among the natives themselves about ownership. Some claimed that Nanisinos had no right to parts of the land he sold. When surveyors appeared in the foothills to begin the survey, Indians interrupted the surveyors' work by taking their tools and carrying the tools to Esopus (Kingston) where

Hardenbergh lived. (Johnson Manuscripts 18:102; Evers 1972:60-62).

In May, 1769, Sir William Johnson expressed the opinion that the land between the two branches of the Delaware River belonged to the Oneidas, not the Mohicans or River Indians (Johnson Manuscripts 18:102). In a letter from Johnson, an Indian leader was quoted as saying the Oneidas owned the land between the two branches of the Delaware (Olde Ulster, Vol. III, November 1907) However, as has been noted, the Mohawks may have claimed part of the tract, which they supposedly had given to Doesto.

An Esopus chief called Cacawlomin also used the name of Hendrick Hagan or Heckan (sometimes spelled Cheshan). He lived a few miles below present Margaretville (Evers 1972:61). About 1739, Hendrick Hagan was accused of having "taken money from Hardenbergh in return for the land, which he didn't own" between the two branches of the Delaware (Evers 1972:60). Within a few years, two new Esopus Indian deeds were obtained by Johannis Hardenbergh, Robert Livingston, and others at a cost of one hundred seventy-five pounds (Ulster County Clerk's Office, Book EE, pp. 61-63; Land Papers 40:126). The first deed, for land in Ulster and Albany counties, was dated June 6, 1746. Then, on August 2, 1746, the Indians sold additional land beginning at a place in Ulster County "called the Hunting House or Yagh House." These deeds did not resolve who owned the land between the branches of the Delaware.

LOCATING THE YAGH HOUSE

The location of this Hunting House was near present Wurtsboro (courtesy Norman J. Van Valkenburgh.) In an 1847 survey it was mentioned again. As the boundary between the Minisink Patent of 1704 and the Hardenbergh Patent of 1708 still was uncertain, surveyors had been appointed by the New York State Assembly in 1847 to run the line between the two patents. The "Yaugh House or hunting house," described as "in the town of Mamakating," was to be the starting point for a line between the two patents running west by north to the Delaware River (Assembly Reports, #59, Feb. 14, 1852, p. 2).

Ownership of the land between the branches of the Delaware remained controversial. Esopus natives again interrupted a surveyor laying out the patent when he reached the Delaware River area in 1749. (Johnson Manuscripts 18:102). The surveyor found it impossible to proceed but later drew up a map showing divisions of the lands he apparently had not visited (Evers 1972:60-63, 152b). This time Indians threw some of the stone monuments piled up by the surveyor into the river.

Meanwhile, Johannes Hardenbergh, who died in 1748, had been succeeded by his son, also named Johannes, as manager of the patent. Finally, in 1751, after Hendrick Hagan's death, a new deed for the first time clearly including the land between the two branches of the Delaware River was given by the Indians. Some or all were Esopus natives. The deed read:

> *(May 1751) (land in Ulster and Albany counties) "from Schoheakena running along the west [branch] of the Fishkill or Delaware River to the head thereof [Lake Utsayantha, near Grand Gorge], from there to the head of Cartrights Kill and along Cartwrights kill [Kaaterskill] to the bounds of Kingston and along Kingston bounds to bounds of Hurly to the bounds of Marbletown then along bounds of Marbletown and the blue Mountains to bounds of Rochester then all along the high mountains commonly call'd the blue mountains and the bounds of Rochester to bounds of capt John Every and from thence running to land granted to Ebenezer Willson and others then all along the land to the land sold by the Indians of Casseheghton [Cohecton; these were a group of Esopus and other Indians] to Maj Johannes Hardenbergh and company and so along . . . to the first station."*

The younger Johannes Hardenbergh paid

one hundred two pounds and sixteen shillings to Amoucht and Wesanep, both sons of Hendrick Hekkan (Hagan), and to twenty-one others. The deed survives at Senate House State Historic Site, Kingston, NY. Signers of the deed were the familiar Sinhow and Kagewap, who were Mohicans, and other natives who were Esopus Indians.

According to a history of Greene County, the Mohawks also gave a deed to the younger Johannes Hardenbergh, on June 3, 1751, for land between the two branches of the Delaware, including land from "Shokakeen where the Papagonk river [east branch] falls in the Fishkill [Delaware] and then up the said Fishkill, including the same, to the head thereof" (Beers 1884:26-27). No source for this document is given. In any event, in the 1760s, the question came up again of whether the land between the two branches of the Delaware had been sold by the Indians. A few Esopus Indians made the following undated deposition, which can be found in the Johnson Manuscripts at the New York State Library:

DECLARATION OF THE ESOPUS INDIANS, VIZ

1. *That their Ancestors sold lands to Hardenbergh of Esopus as far as a Village of theirs called Paepacton and no farther.*
2. *That all the Lands Northerly of that village of Paepacton or first [east] Branch of Delaware belongs to the Five Nations.*
3. *That many disputes happened between their ancestors and Hardenbergh, on the latters saying the former had sold the lands to him as far as the Second Branch of Delaware; and that these disputes were sometimes before the Magistrates of Esopus and committed to writing; which papers two years this autumn they shew'd Sir William Johnson, who ordered copys of them to be taken and that on their return to Esopus the present Hardenbergh ask'd them why they went to Sir William Johnson with the papers as he had no business with them as they were Esopus Indians, and [Hardenbergh] asked for the papers which they delivered to him thinking no harm, which [papers] he has not returned.*

4h. Jacob Hagan, Esopus Indian, says his father, without the consent of the other Indians, sold Hardenbergh some lands between the First and Second Branch of Delaware although he knew it belonged to the Five Nations; they farther say, when Hardenbergh had the land surveyed they surveyed it no farther than the first branch of Delaware and put up heaps of stones as [markers of] their Boundary, some of which are to [words burned] the Indians threw into the River.

(Sir William Johnson Manuscripts, Vol. 18:103, NYSL, Manuscripts and Special Collections.)

TRIBAL OWNERSHIP IS CLEAR

Maps of the patent include this controversial land for the Hardenberghs (Figure 6.8). The maps of the patent, made after 1751, established the north line of the Hardenbergh Patent as a line measured from the head of the west branch of the Delaware River to the head of the Kaaterskill Creek.

In 1768, a boundary intended to protect Iroquois land was established across New York. Beyond this white settlers were not to pass. (O'Callaghan 1849, 1:587). The line ran for a short way down the west branch of the Delaware. By agreeing to this line, the Iroquois gave up any rights to the area between the east and west branches of the river, land which then was opened to non-Indian settlement. After that time, ownership of the land between the two branches of the Delaware became solely a colonial issue.

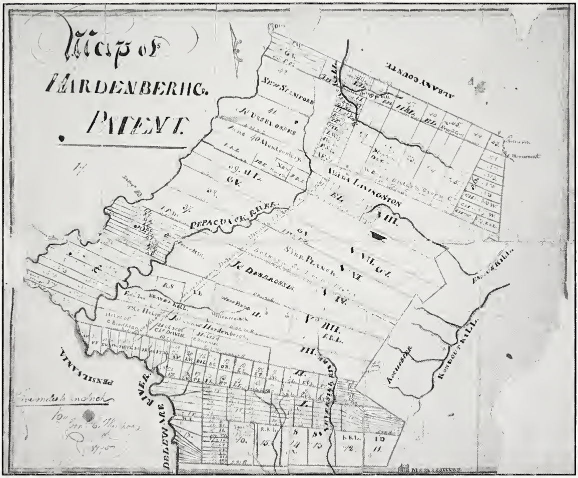

Figure 6.8. A 1795 map of the Hardenbergh Patent drawn by Cornelius C.Wynkoop included the contested land between the two branches of the Delaware River. The lake shown at center, top, Lake Utsayantha, is the source of the west branch of the river. (Map at Manuscripts and Special Collections, New York State Library.)

TRIBES SHARED SCHOHARIE CREEK

As this survey of events shows, the Esopus were in possession of the Hardenbergh Patent area in the Catskill Mountains. Control of different segments of Schoharie Creek also emerges from this study. The creek is usually associated with the Mohawks, but the only Catskill Mountain land claimed by the Mohawks was west of the Catskills. Therefore, the north end of the Schoharie Creek was on Mohawk land. Territory immediately north of the Hardenbergh Patent, including a tract which crossed the Schoharie Creek, belonged to the Mohicans. Overlapping claims by the Mohicans and the Mohawks occurred along the west side of Schoharie Creek from opposite the mouth of the Batavia Kill up to Vroman's Nose, south of Middleburgh. That part of the Schoharie Creek which lay within the Hardenbergh Patent was in Esopus Territory.

SEPARATE TERRITORIES CAN BE ESTABLISHED

Early tribal territories in and around the Catskills held by the Mohawks, the Mohicans, and the Esopus can be identified and separated by the documents and events presented in this paper. In their protest of 1734, the Mohawks specifically threatened to attack those Indians who sold land west of the Catskill Mountains. They did not lay claim to land in the mountains. Mohican ownership of foothills territory north of the Hardenbergh line is attested by several Mohican deeds to members of the Van Bergen family and others. Descendants of the Esopus leaders, by repudiating the fraudulent 1751 Indian deed for the land between the two branches of the Delaware, confirmed the western limit of Esopus land.

Therefore, Esopus Indians were owners of territory in the Catskill Mountains as far north as a line run from the head of the east branch of the Delaware to the twin lakes at the head of Kaaterskill Creek, Of course, they also held land south of the mountains in present Ulster and Sullivan counties. Moreover, Esopus territory did not include the land between the two branches of the Delaware River, which land nevertheless was claimed for the Hardenbergh Patent.

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CHAPTER 7

HISTORIC INDIAN CLOTHING

Jennifer Lee (2003)

"Hello, to you in the very large wigwam! I'm Jennifer Lee. I'm a re-enactor. I do presentations at schools and historic sites on local Indian history and the material culture of the Native American northeast, wearing clothing typical of Native Americans from the northeast.

Around 1637, the English settlements below Hartford, Connecticut, were in extreme need of food. Their leaders went to a place called Pocumtuck (present day Deerfield), and bought so much corn that the Indians paddled down the Connecticut River in fifty canoes laden with corn for them. Imagine that sight! Wouldn't you feel good if you were very hungry, and you saw these River Indians paddling canoes full of corn towards you?

In summer, an Indian might be wearing a deerskin garment called a mantle. This style was worn by both men and women of the east coast in the fifteen and sixteen hundreds. A light mantle was made from the skins of young deer because their skin is thin, and this garment would be intended for summer wear. Other mantles were made of raccoon, otter, or beaver fur and were worn with the fur on the inside, next to the body, for warmth. Unusual mantles were made of woven rushes or hemp, and some were made of turkey or goose feathers. The garment's short, wide fringe is typical of eastern wear (Figure 7.1.). *Long fringe is more typical of the native peoples out west. I use a few white beads called pound beads, because they could be found on Turtle Island (North America) in the 1500's.*

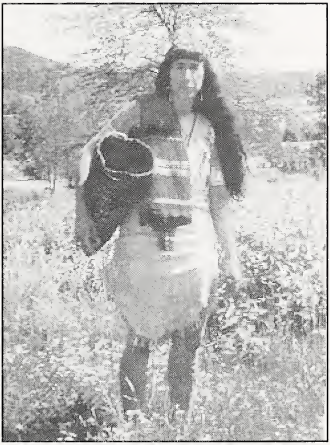

Figure 7. 1. The author, shown here, tanned leather in the traditional way for her Native American-style mantle, worn under a trade era "match coat" (the blanket with ribbons).

I have a deerskin mantle. I tanned the leather for my mantle in the traditional way, which is to use the brains of the deer to soften the hide. Brains

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are an incredible skin softener. My hands feel really soft after brain-tanning deerskins. No lotion you can buy comes close. Maybe you think using brains is gross, but I don't consider it much different than using the leg of a chicken for dinner or cutting off the head of a broccoli plant and seeing it bleed in the summer sun. The thing about brains is that they lend themselves to interesting communications. For instance: A Native American elder asked me to do a hide tanning demonstration at his pow-wow. I packed up everything I needed in the car and headed off. Just one problem! I forgot my brains! So I went to a butcher shop and walked up the counter and said to the woman there, "Excuse me M'am, do you have any brains?" And she said, "Honey, if I had any brains do you think I'd be workin' here?"

Anyway, I start with a piece of rawhide in my hand. It takes a lot of skill and technology to get this raw material. First you have to talk the deer out of his skin. If that doesn't work you have to skin him yourself. When you're skinning a deer with the intention of tanning his hide, you don't use the knife very much. You use it just to start and then you pull the skin off like a sock, shoving with your fingers and fist to separate the skin from the body. Then you scrape off any adhering flesh and fat and scrape or soak off the hair. Now you have rawhide. It can be strong enough to be used as a shield to deflect arrows. But if you put the rawhide in a bucket of warm water, it will turn into something as soft as spaghetti. Now you can cut it into strips and lash tools with it. When it dries it shrinks and gets stronger. This is why rawhide is also used to cover drums.

But stiff rawhide can be hard to wear. So you need to use the brains to soften it. First you have to scrape off the layer of skin under the hair side. You've heard of top grain leather for belts or wallets with that shiny layer on. That's chemically tanned leather. For a brain tan you need to scrape that layer off so the brains can soak in. Then you put the rawhide in a bucket of warm water and brains and soak it overnight. Next, wring it out, and then you have to stretch it and move it until it dries. Move it any way you can.

This job could take a couple of hours on a windy sunny day or take all day long and really tire you out if the day is humid. Now, if you have a lot of people, every one can take a piece of the edge of the hide. Then put a child in the middle and bounce him up and down. The skin acts like a trampoline. Or two women having a discussion can pull the skin over a pointed stick, or you can put it in a rack and lean into it with a canoe paddle.

However you do it, you need to move it and stretch it until it dries. After the treatment, you have something that's soft and white but the bugs and mice will want to eat it, and if it gets wet it will stiffen up a bit. Therefore, the final step is to smoke the hide. You sew the hide into a pillow case shape and put it aside. Dig a little hole, make a hot fire, burn it down to coals, put rotten wood on the coals, and suspend your hide above it. Once the smoke permeates the hide, you will have something as soft as flannel that the mice and bugs won't eat and it won't stiffen up if it gets wet. Every type of rotten wood has its own smell when it is burned. The Cree up north use black spruce; that smells wonderful.

I use apple wood, because it's what I have available. And my freshly smoked hides smell like something good to eat. As you can see, the woman who just told you how to tan some deerskin loves the way of life that turns rawhide into something as soft as flannel using only what nature provides.

The 1500 and 1600 hundreds were centuries when people were a lot more physically active than they tend to be today. It was a time when the Wiechquaeskecks, of present day Westchester County, New York, reported that half a day's journey was eighteen miles in six hours, and a time when Keesieway, a Mohican man, carried mail and official communications from Beverwyck to New Amsterdam in the winter when the Mahicannituk (Hudson) River was frozen. He walked (or ran) from Albany to New York City in the cold. He knew his way.

I like to think about these people when I'm tanning hides. It takes me a weekend of dedicated stamina to tan a hide.

There are four or five hides in an outfit made of doeskins, the skins of female deer. Buckskins, or the skins of male deer, are thicker; doeskin is just the right weight for women's clothing. Sometimes I wear a binary style skirt which means one hide makes the front and one hide makes the back. The *mantle I spoke about earlier is made by placing and sewing the hides any way they'll go to make the covering.*

CAPES AND BEADS

The doeskin top is called a cape, although it looks like a jacket (Figure 7.2.). *Capes of fringed leather became a basic part of clothing for both native men and women. Some capes were made of beaver or otter or bobcat or coyote skin with the fur on. Much later capes were made of dark velvet from Europe and beaded for special dress-up times. Note the mostly short eastern style fringe.*

My cape is edge-beaded with very early trade beads. Edge beading occurs when you sew beads right into the edge of the leather. My skirt is decorated with clay buttons from Pitowbak or Lake Champlain, a place where farmers can still point out the burned earth and stones of fire rings on little rises of land beside the lakes and rivers. Clay buttons are naturally formed by clay that wraps itself around a stalk of hay. The clay hardens, the hay stalk rots away and a clay button is formed. My skirt is also decorated with shells that make a sound very useful for alerting rattlesnakes and bears that you're around.

By the 1600s many natives were using European fabrics to make their clothes. But leather clothing persisted off the major trade routes and among people who held on to the old ways. People like Molly Ockett, the Abenaki Indian Doctress who made her garments from the skins of animals and wore them in the eighteenth century. And Mettaluk the Abenaki hunter and trapper who lived to be 120 years old. He wore his own brain-tanned smoked buckskin clothes in the 1700s and early 1800s. Even when wool became the common fabric used for clothing, leather was used for work garments, for hunting shirts, and, when decorated and embellished beautifully, it was preferred for special occasions and ceremonial wear.

Gourds were important. A gourd is made from a type of native squash. These squash can grow into different shapes that lend themselves to different uses when the gourds are made. A large one would make a great water jug. A rattle can be made out of a gourd, or a bowl that's edged in pine needles. You could also make a ladle, a dish, or a noggin; a cup that the men hang on their sash, by hollowing out a gourd. Gourds are naturally waterproof when they dry.

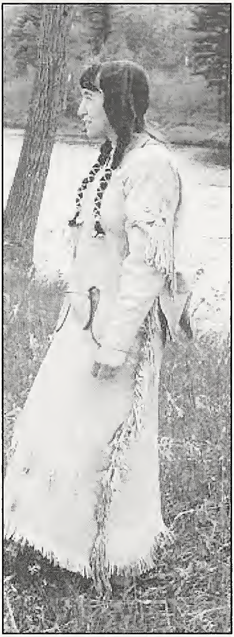
Figure 7. 2. Indian capes (jackets) could be trimmed in various ways, including with fringe. Here a cape of tanned doeskin is edge-beaded and the skirt is decorated with clay buttons and shells.

Before tin and copper and iron pots became available trade items, clay pots were used for cooking. The bottom of a clay cooking pot is rounded.

You could set this right on the coals of a fire to cook your food or suspend it above the flame or heat up rocks till they're cherry red and put them in the pot.

Cooking in a clay pot is kind of like pouring boiling water into a glass jar. You can do that, just don't let it be a cold glass jar or it will break. You have to gradually warm up a clay pot and then you can put it directly on coals.

Soapstone and bark also were used for early kettles. Clothing and accoutrements such as dippers and pots were made with common materials found in the forest of the Northeast using native technology developed over thousands of years.

WOOL WRAP SKIRT, ABOUT 1750

Now let's look at clothing from the mid-eighteenth century. It was around that time that the Chaplain to the Prince of Wales sent the Mohican people at Stockbridge a large two-volume bible which they lost when they moved away from Stockbridge in the 1780s. Before that, it was the time of the French and Indian war when the English and the French fought to gain control of native land. My clothing showing that time is of European fabric, but it's distinctly Indian in style and make. None of the edges is turned over and hemmed, as the edges were left unhemmed or finished off with trade ribbon.

By this time, Native Americans wore a lot of wool. Wool cloth was the most common trade item given for land. Wool was packed into every trade bale sent over from Europe. It helped protect the iron and metal trade items. New wool was used as a source of dye for porcupine quills. One type of early trade wool was called strouds. It was made in Stroudwater, England. It was originally used as a blotter cloth to soak up excess when dying finer cloths. Native peoples made use of that and boiled the wool to obtain the excess dye before using the wool for clothing. Old blankets were used to make children's clothes or for hoods, and wool was used as a strainer for maple sap, or unraveled for the yarn.

One native covering was called a Matchcoat. It was basically a wool blanket decorated with trade ribbon. The word Matchcoat comes from the Powhatan dialect of the Algonquian language. In Powhatan it's Matshcore meaning a mantle, a loose covering worn over one shoulder. I would have had to trade two good beaver pelts to get the wool that makes my Matchcoat.

In the picture, I'm wearing an Abenaki style hood. It works well as a winter head covering. My ears are free to hear and my neck is covered (Figure 7.3.). *I'm also wearing a wrap skirt and trade shirt. These were the common garments of native women from the Delaware and Shawnee to the Huron in Quebec and out to Minnesota. Farther west, deerhide garments continued to be worn for another 100 to 150 years. The original wrap skirt was made of leather. This one is decorated with silk ribbons. Shells, beads, and silver brooches also were used.*

My trade shirt is made of linen. Fine French fabrics were preferred over the coarser English fabrics. Native tastes were catered to in the fur trade. Indian people specified certain colors and designs. Whatever they needed or wanted was provided when possible. I would have traded one beaver for my trade shirt.

My tight fitting wool leggings are seamed on the side. The flaps aren't sewn together. Each edge is done off with silk ribbon. Silk ribbon came from England and France. I would have traded one buck skin for the silk on my skirt and leggings and two good beavers for the wool. My leggings are held in place with garters that keep them from twisting and my garters match my sash. Sashes were typically finger woven of wool by native women but mine are linen and done on a loom by some French traders. My moccasins are made in the center seam style of the Northeast.

I might be wearing a lot of silver. In the 1700's it was a dominant trade item. Later in the 1800's when the fur trade moved out to the west, Indian people were making their own silver embellishments. I would have traded one doeskin for my ball- and cone-earrings or earbobs, four beavers for my armbands, and a raccoon for a brooch.

Men and women wore their knives in a sheath around their neck or sometimes on their sash. The knife sheath was made of brain tanned deerskin and might be decorated with porcupine quills, beads, tin cones, and dyed deer hair.

There was a Moravian missionary named John

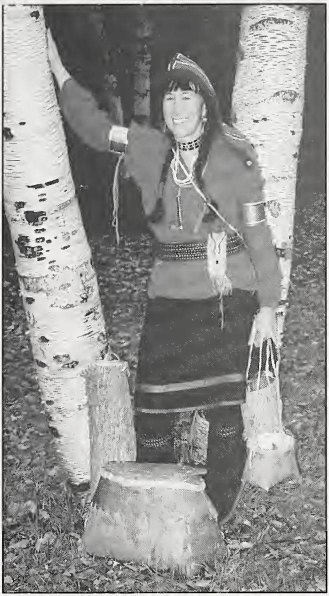

Figure 7. 3. Mid-eighteenth century native clothing for women might include an Abenaki-style hood as a winter head covering. A trade shirt of linen or cotton and a wrap skirt were commonly worn. Silk ribbons, shells, beads and silver arm bands were decorations.

Heckewelder who knew the Indians very well. Here are some of the things he said about the native peoples of Pennsylvania. He wrote that the men and women knew how to dress themselves in style. Women of rank or wealth, women whose husbands or lovers were good hunters, were lavishly bedecked, because Delaware men loved to see their women well clothed. They paid particular attention to this and would clothe themselves rather meanly on this account. There were those who thought it scandalous to appear better clothed than their wives. At their husbands' expense the women would line their petticoats with ribbons. Heckewelder also reported that the women would do the bartering with the traders over the skins and furs that their husbands hunted and trapped. The eighteenth century was a time of increased reliance on trade goods. Most Indian clothing was made of European fabric in a distinctly Indian fashion and make.

THE STRAPDRESS

Another type of eighteenth century northeast native dress was called a strapdress (Figure 7.4.). *Its design came from an earlier style skin dress. It's made of wool crepe, a thin wool that was available in the 1700's. Other strapdresses were made of strouds or linen or broadcloth. They were decorated with shells, shell discs, trade beads, ribbons, broaches, and tin cones hung on cotton cord. These make a nice sound to alert bears and rattle snakes of a woman's presence. The sleeves are removable for warmer weather. Leggings were made of linen and decorated with ribbons and clay buttons from Pitowbak or Lake Champlain. A choker would be made of glass wampum and I would have traded one buckskin for the glass wampum to make a choker. Wampum was originally made from quohoag clam shells and used as a token of honor. Later it became a trade item.*

With this dress I am wearing a deerskin tobacco pouch. A leather tobacco pouch was another item which could be worn around the neck. The pouch might also hold a ceremonial smoking pipe. Tishcohan, sachem of the Delaware Indians, made his from a squirrel skin. (Editor's note: See Frontispiece.)

I'm carrying some berry buckets made from birch bark. Birch bark was as important to the material culture of the Indian peoples of the northern forests as the buffalo was to the Plains Tribes or the cedar tree is to the Peoples of the Northwest coast. In areas where it was plentiful, birch bark covered our wigwams and our canoes and stored our food. Now I'm talking about the paper birch, the one that's tall and peels and is chalky: Not the yellow birch that has small peeling strips of silvery and

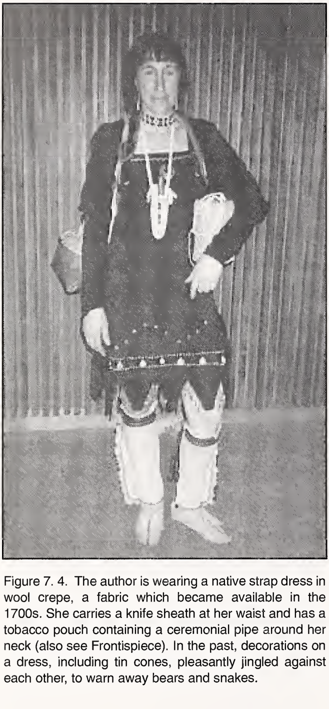

Figure 7. 4. The author is wearing a native strap dress in wool crepe, a fabric which became available in the 1700s. She carries a knife sheath at her waist and has a tobacco pouch containing a ceremonial pipe around her neck (also see Frontispiece). In the past, decorations on a dress, including tin cones, pleasantly jingled against each other, to warn away bears and snakes.

gold bark. Not the European white birch which is an ornamental shrub. Not the black birch which is almost black and gives us the wintergreen flavor. And not the gray birch. Gray birch resembles white birch but the bark is wrapped tighter and below each branch is a mustache shaped black mark. The paper birch can be found from Alaska to Newfoundland and as far south as Northern Pennsylvania.

Birch bark was used in northern New England to cover wigwams. It's not uncommon to get sheets of bark that are three feet wide by eight feet tall. A modern piece of plywood is four by eight. Edges of the bark sheets were reinforced by sandwiching the bark ends between slats of wood lashed on. Then sheets of bark could be rolled up and carried.

In the Berkshires and Hudson River Valley chestnut bark was used on longhouses. In pre-contact times, one in every five trees was a chestnut tree. Elm bark was also common and huge sheets were obtained when the bark was flexible in the spring.

BARK CONTAINERS

There's a pattern you can use, following which you fold a piece of bark into a seamless waterproof container, great for trail kettles, sap buckets, drinking cups and cooking pots. You can hang a birch bark kettle above a fire and cook in it As long as you have water in it, it won't burn. Or you can heat up little rocks till they're cherry red and put them in the bark kettle and get the contents boiling. While clay pots have been used for 3000 years, bark pots have been used much, much longer.

There's another pattern called Mokuk. You can alter the pattern to make a bark container larger, smaller wider or narrower at the top. Mokuks were made for storing and carrying food. Sometimes seams were treated with spruce gum or pitch to seal them. These berry buckets would be small Mokuks and a large one could be a storage container (Figure 7.4).

Another type of bark utensil is the envelope or folder. (Out West they are called paraflechs and they're made of the skin of animals.) Bark envelopes also are made from the skins of trees and both types are used for carrying dried meat, clothing, or any other necessary items of living. Other items made of birch bark are back packs, cradles, memory scrolls, and of course the canoe. Traditional birch bark items are made with the white on the inside. They are more waterproof this way and the white lining has a food preserving quality to it. Items made with the white on the outside were made for the tourist trade rather than traditional use.

If you gather your bark in the winter or early spring some of the dark cambium layer comes with it. You can scrape some of that layer and make designs on the bark. You make a bark cut-out of a flower, leaf, wild grape, oak, maple, or fiddleheads, and then you hold that cut out on the bucket and scrape up to it. The scraped part is light and the design is dark. If you gather bark in the summer or fall the scraping technique doesn't work so well but you can sew a bark cut out applique right onto the bucket. You sew it with spruce root. Spruce root is used for canoes and buckets. In a patch of forest that is all spruce trees, the forest floor is so loose and soft that you can dig the root with your hands. Spruce root is stretchy when fresh. It shrinks when it dries and tightens, giving the thing you're working on more strength. It smells wonderful, and is a delight to work with. Some bark baskets are beautifully decorated with porcupine quills, moose hair or spruce root embroidery.

Bark is also a word describing a small sailing ship or boat or canoe. The word embark is used when we begin a journey. Whether it is in a spaceship or canoe, we embark on a journey. Now it's time for me to embark and end my visit here."

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CHAPTER 8

ALGONQUIAN AND IROQUOIS USES OF PLANTS AND OTHER MATERIALS TO MAKE FIRE

Barry Keegan (2004)
Photographs by the author

Some early accounts of Algonquian peoples note that their fire-making method of choice was the use of two stones to strike a spark, which was captured and nurtured in a flammable tinder. In place of the colonial's flint and steel to produce fire, says Howard Russell, a modern researcher, each Indian carried a mineral stone. Russell quotes John M. Brereton's 1602 account which reported that every native man carried "in a purse of sewed leather, a special stone, with which to make a fire." Brereton wrote: ". . . and with a flat emeris stone tied fast to the end of a little stick, gently he striketh upon the mineral stone, and within a stroke or two, a spark falleth upon a piece of Touchwood . . . and with the least sparke he maketh fire presently" (Russell 1980:71). Although it sounds easy, few people today can demonstrate this method efficiently.

MAKING FIRE WITH TWO STONES

Of this technique there are other accounts, which help to put the making of fire into the context of Indian life. Roger Williams, for example, speaks of the coastal Rhode Island area Algonquian who went "into the woods with his hatchet, carrying only a basket of corn with him, and stones to strike fire" when he sought to build an ocean going canoe (Williams 1643). Lewis Henry Morgan also noted, in reference to the "strike-a-light" bag: "to [his] . . . girdle is fastened a bag, in which his instruments be, [with] which he can strike fire upon any occasion" (1851:38-39) Thomas Morton noted that "Indians travaile [travel] with materials to strike fire at all times" (Morton 1883:143).

The Jesuit Relations (Thwaites 1977, 2:138-139) and other early accounts mention the use of pyrite and flint or pyrite upon pyrite or pyrite with quartz, quartzite or silicified slate. The use of pyrite, also known as marcasite, by Native Americans was observed as far south as Virginia and through New England. This method of striking sparks for fire also was common from Newfoundland and Greenland through Canada to Alaska's Aleutian Islands, and north to Point Barrow (Withoft 1966:42-47). In addition, firemaking kits consisting of pieces of marcasite and a strike-a-light (often a broken projectile point) have been found in Indian graves, apparently intended to be used to make fire in the afterlife.

Another writer, E. H. Knight (quoted in Hough 1926:113), relates how a Dogrib Indian woman of north-west Canada, who was living alone, used two pieces of pyrite and touchwood (a tinder) to make a fire. She succeeded only after a considerable number of attempts, leading him to believe that her practice with this skill was irregular, and that perhaps she

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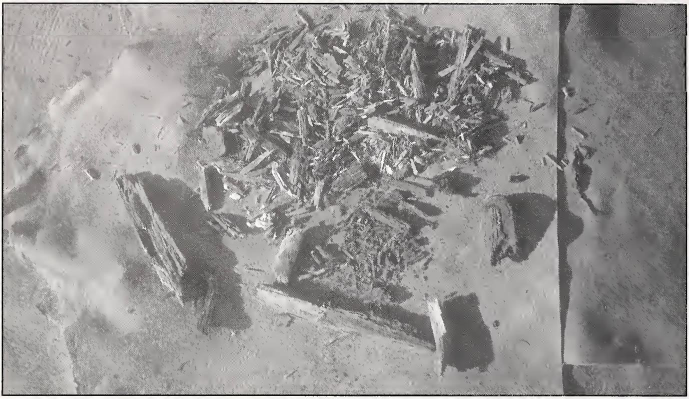

Figure 8.1. The picture shows touchwood or punky wood, ready to be ignited.

recently had been forced to live alone (Figure 8.1.) This is the only account the author has found of a woman making fire with minerals or stones. There was, however, a woman's burial containing flint and pyrite equipment in New York (Ritchie 1994:113). That fire kits usually would have been used for traveling, rather than at home, may help explain a gender difference, if, indeed, one existed.

Wooden friction methods (see below), which were bulky and not easily used in snow and damp weather, may have been appropriate for village use. Having alternate ways to make fire in any culture, with no one hallmark method, suggests choices were made, as needed. The primary advantage of the flint and marcasite method was that it traveled well. Although marcasite is messy, leaving a dark sulphur residue on the hands, and the odor is unpleasant, flint and pyrite (marcasite), because of their ability to produce fire under any conditions, were the common choice for traveling. Therefore, they also were the items chosen for grave goods believed to have been needed on a person's travel to the afterlife.

USING FUNGUS FOR TINDER

Striking two pieces of marcasite together risks breaking one or both stones. These stones were scarce (Gehring 1988:18) and natives traveled great distances to find them. Therefore, economy would have been the cause of splitting round nodules in half and abrading a groove lengthwise down the stone, to help in the fire-making process. When sparks were generated by using a chopping motion down this groove, the groove tended to focus the sparks into the tinder. Alan Beauchamp, for example, has used sharpened stones to chop or chisel sparks from a grooved lump of marcasite into true tinder fungus (Beauchamp 2000: 41-48).

Beauchamp (2000) and Ken Wee (2001:84-85) both refer to fungi as tinder. Tinder fungus grows most commonly on black, yellow and

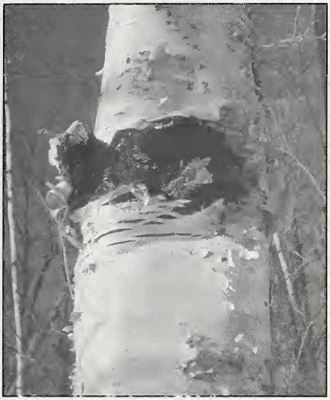

Figure 8.2. True tinder fungus growing on a birch tree is shown in the photograph.

paper birch. It can grow on other trees, like oak and spruce, but this is rare (Figure 8.2.). When prepared, fungus works like charred cloth. (It can catch sparks from later flint and steel, as well as from flint and marcasite.) To prepare fungus and start a fire, natives removed the fungus and made a powder of the interior. The yellow center of it was the spongiest part, most sensitive to sparks. The powder, during a dry season, would ignite easily. In damp situations, the powder would dry out quickly if put in the sun or held near body heat with some ventilation.

Ken Wee also speaks of false tinder fungus (*Fomes fomentarius),* called *Amadou* when prepared, and also known as German tinder (Wee 2001:84-85). In Europe this had been a preferred tinder fungus, used for at least 10,000 years. A well-preserved body about 5300 years old was discovered in the Otztaler Alps near the Austrian-Italian border in 1991. Dubbed Otzi (Ice-man), he had carried tinder fungi in a ripped leather belt pouch. Analysis "with dark field illumination under the stereo microscope" (Spindler 1994:110-113), found traces of iron and sulfur on the fungus, arguing for the likelihood of his carrying marcasite, which, when struck with the tip of his knife, could have been used to make sparks for his fire.

"Iceman" carried only the *trama* (fruiting body) of *Fomes Fomentarius* (Spindler 1994:110-113). The tip of his flint knife was broken and worn round. Though this knife may certainly have served as a striker of necessity, its use would have posed a risk of breakage to this important tool. More often, a long oval piece of flint or a smaller round-tipped flint piece mounted in an antler haft would have been used throughout most of northern Europe from before 7,000 BC to the Iron Age (Cooley 1848:53). Both oval and hafted flint tools were used by some Eskimos and by groups in many other parts of North America. Often it is the rounded and battered flint tool that survives.

Strike-a-light tools have shown up archaeologically in the Hudson Valley and surrounding New York State (Ritchie and Funk 1973:276-290, Plate 158). The Westheimer and Narhwold sites on the Schoharie Creek are both primarily Owasco (late woodland period), the latter having a contact period occupation as well. Strike-a-lights were found in the Owasco horizons at both sites. A pyrite nodule was also found at the Narhwold site (Ritchie and Funk 1973: 283-284, Plate 158). The earliest known flint and pyrite fire-making kits are known from the Frontenac Island Site, where "they appear to have been introduced by a Laurentian group" (Ritchie 1980:60).

Flint and pyrite were used well into the contact period. In 1635 a Dutch visitor to the Mohawks, Harmen van den Bogaert, wrote: "Nothing in particular happened other than I was shown some stones with which they make fire when they go into the woods, and which are scarce. These stones would be good on firelocks" (Gehring and Starna1988:18). F.W. Waugh, speaking of the Iroquois (1973:50-53), also noted that "flint and pyrites are said to

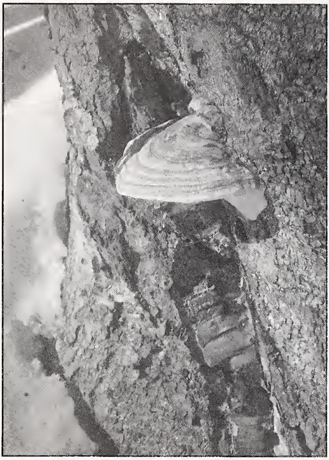

Figure 8.3. A winter scene highlights a large false tinder fungus, suitable for making tinder, on a tree.

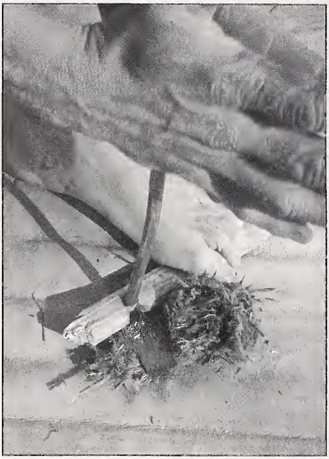

Figure 8.4. A hand drill is a fire-making device which was used by the Algonquians and also the Iroquois.

have been used within recollection of some older people" (Figure 8.3.).

WOOD ON WOOD METHODS OF FIRE MAKING

Stone was not the only material which could be used to start a fire. Wood on wood methods of fire making used in the northeast included the hand drill, bow drill, and pump drill. Two other wooden implements are occasionally described and may be purely ceremonial and only Iroquois: these are the fire saw and fire plow. Due to damp soil conditions, archaeological evidence of all of these devices, created from perishable materials, is rarely found. Even the pump drill has produced no archaeological evidence, such as a stone flywheel, in New York State (Beauchamp 1905:42-48). However, the Sheep Rock Shelter of Huntington County, Pennsylvania, a high and dry riverside overhang with much sun and wind exposure, provided a rare environment for the survival of wooden fire-making apparatus. Archaeological finds there included three fire drill platforms and seven fragments of fire drills, identified by rotary abrasions and charring (Willey 1974:404-405).

Early as well as recent accounts describing these three methods exist. The hand drill or fire drill was by far the most commonly used. In some accounts, the confusing term *fire drill* has been applied to both bow and hand drill. The wooden materials used for all three can be interchangeable. The parts that make the friction work alike. The top parts, however, show the differences in method (Figure 8.4.).

Some accounts describe matching the

wood type for both drill and hearth (base), or suggest using wood of a similar degree of softness or hardness (Waugh 1973:50-53). Examples are "cedar on cedar" (Hough 1890:359-371) and "two willow sticks and basswood" (Waugh 1973:50-53). Other accounts mention the use of a hardwood drill upon a softwood hearth in all three drill types. Suggested combinations are "cedar hearth and a hardwood drill," a "slippery elm or hickory drill on a hearth of basswood, maple or pitch pine," or "slippery elm or white ash on basswood" (Waugh 1973:50-53), and, William Beauchamp notes, "hardwood upon a juniper, pine or cedar hearth" can be used (1905:91-93).

Particular woods of choice were, for drills, buttonwood, white cedar, poplar, willow, pawpaw, or white oak, used probably on a softwood hearth (Willey 1974:184-187). Other known favorite woods were: "yucca," "balsa" (of South America), and elm. Root woods which could be used were cottonwood, elm and willow, with dead willow rated among the best. Other good woods were, "poplar, cypress, balsam-fir, linden (basswood), cedar and sycamore" (Watson 1939:11-14). There were subtle advantages to using various combinations of these woods.

Making fire with a hand drill involved the spinning of a stick between both hands with strong downward pressure and as much speed as possible. The upright shaft should be the size of a little finger and as long as a forearm, according to one account in the Jesuit Relations (Thwaites 1959, 5:217). The hearth or base was of wood, usually split to flatten the bottom for stability. Two narrow sticks could be tied together when a broad stick was not available (Tooker 1991:24). Walter Hough, who claimed it took him only ten seconds to make fire with a hand drill, knew of an Apache who took less than eight seconds to do it (Hough 1890:359) (Figure 8.5.).

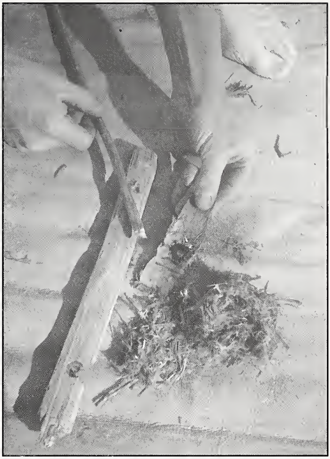
Figure 8.5. A hand drill requires rapidly spinning a stick between two hands.

The bow drill (in which the string of a bow is wrapped around a stick, and moved back and forth to turn the stick on the hearth) has been mentioned as an Iroquois device, although it was "not listed in methods within recollection of any one living" in the 1920's (Waugh 1973:50-53). It had been very common among the Eskimos and other more northern cultures. An obvious craft of necessity, one bow drill string was made of "the inner bark of the moose wood or leather wood" (Waugh 1973:50-53). Moosewood was a rare alpine swamp-dwelling shrub. Strings of rawhide also were used. They had little stretch. Buckskin also worked very well but it tended to stretch at first. A flexible bow helped allow for this stretch. Fiber strings worked better than strings made of roots and bark, which needed to be moist to keep them from breaking. Care had to be taken not to allow the plant-based strings to rub on themselves as the fibers would snap. Bark and root strings, however, took much less time to construct and fas-

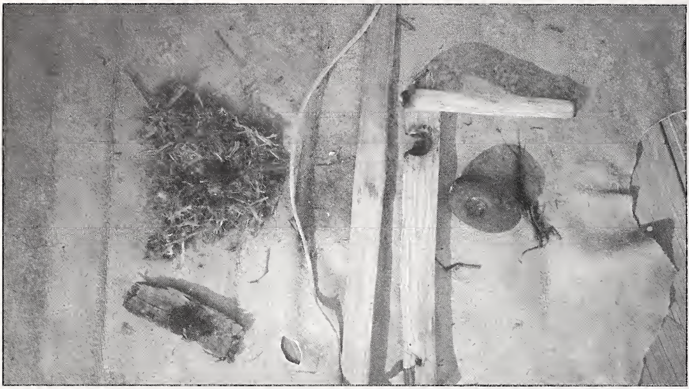

Figure 8.6. A bow drill kit makes it easier to spin the drill to start a fire.

ten to a bow (Figure 8.6.).

In experiments today, the bow drill provides more power than a hand drill. Bone and stone hand-holds or sockets require very little lubrication. Wooden sockets to hold the twirling stick require constant lubrication and usually cause difficulty for the learner. There is one reference to the past use of a pine knot socket which would be self lubricating, due to concentrated pitch in the wood (Watson 1939:11-14). The four working parts of a bow drill require more coordination than the two piece hand drill. When a bow drill works well, it can make fire very quickly as compared to a hand drill, especially in damp weather (Figure 8.7.).

The pump drill was also very common among Algonquian peoples, where it was used for the "new fire" ceremony, which was also an Iroquois tradition. The pump drill was used by Algonquian families north of the Ohio and west of the Mississippi (Waugh 1973:50-53). The pump drill also was used by the Penobscots of Maine (Beauchamp 1905:91-93).

An early account of a pump drill, which is spun with a disk, states that: "the whorl or disc was made of a small branch bent into a circle and interlaced with bark. The whorl is considered to work better a little out of center to insure greater friction" (Waugh 1973:50-53). If the bark whorl was too much out of center, however, it was correctable by lacing more bark on the lightest side. Another account mentions a spindle of hickory and cedar, weighted by a "fly wheel made of strips of bark, pegged or sewed together and a wythie-bow with a raw hide string caught at the notch on the spindle top" (Beauchamp 1905:91-93) (Figure 8.8.).

There is a description of a one-piece pump drill: "Some times an elm sapling with a straight tap root was selected and dressed down, leaving the large portion at the junction of the root and stem for a fly wheel (Hough1890:398-402). The Iroquois often used a cross bar or "wythie-bow ((Beauchamp 1905:91-93) instead of a wide stick with a hole in it like most others used (Figure 8.9.).

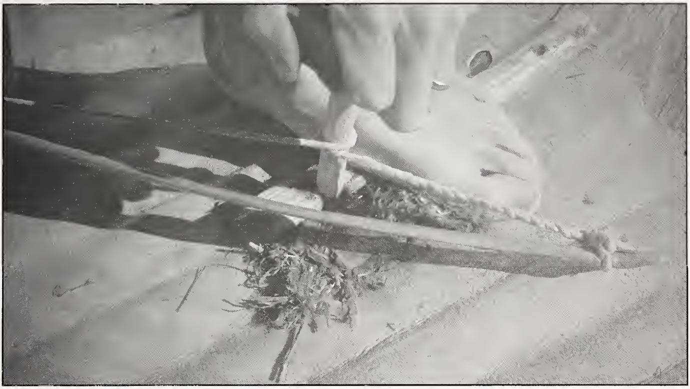

Figure 8.7. With the bow drill, shown in action, experienced hands can make a fire quickly.

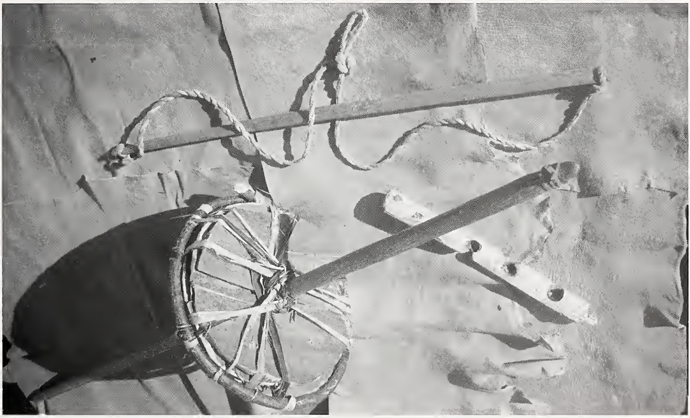

Figure 8. 8. A bark whorl, or disc, is constructed with pegged and interlaced bark placed around a bent stick.

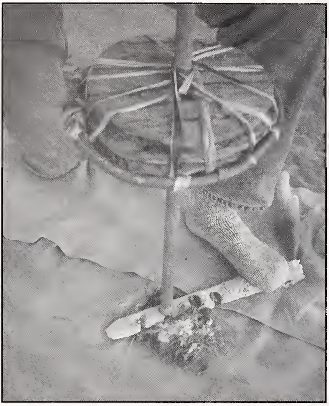

Figure 8.9. The close-up shows a pump drill.

TWO LESS COMMON METHODS

Pump drills, bow drills and hand drills were used world wide. Less well-known were the fire plow and fire saw. Both were used by the Iroquois. Perhaps because these were ceremonial rituals, no known neighbors of the Iroquois people are known to use either the fire plow or fire saw.

The fire plow was a two-piece device of softwood pieces or it could include a hardwood rubber for friction on a soft wood hearth, "in which the end of a stick was rubbed vigorously back and forth in a groove" (Waugh 1973:50-53). (This is the method that Tom Hanks used to successfully make fire in the modern movie "Cast Away.") This method was once found in the American south west as well, but apparently no where else in North America. It was common in Pacific Island Cultures. Waugh notes its use within the recollection of some of the older Iroquois people (1973:50-53) (Figure 8.10.).

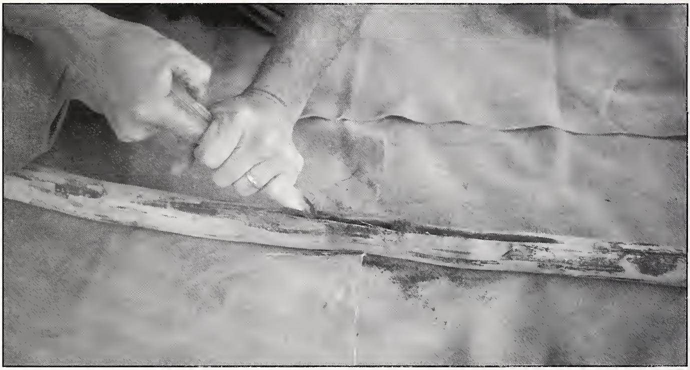

Figure 8.10. For this fire plow, both hand hold and hearth are made from an agave stalk.

The Fire Saw is described similarly in a few accounts, which speak of it being used by the Iroquois in the "new fire ceremony." The ceremony was performed by either two or four men, using either elm (Hewitt 1889:319), or iron wood. The tinder was the *polyporus applanatus* fungus, dried and shredded. "Two suitable logs of slippery elm (*ulmus fulva*) were provided for new fire. One log was 6 to 8 inches in diameter and from 8 to10 feet long. The other was 10 to12 inches in diameter and 10 feet long. About midway across the larger log, a cuneiform notch or cut, about 6 inches deep, was made, and in the wedge-shaped notch, punk was placed. The other log was drawn rapidly to and fro, in the cut, by four strong men, chosen for the purpose, until the punk was ignited by the friction thus produced" (Hewitt 1889:319). It is difficult to replicate this method today. A hole may have been made in the notch, in which the ember could form (Private Communication).

By studying and performing these methods of fire making, today's researchers, including this author, hope to recognize native skills and preserve these little-known devices and technologies for the future.

SUMMARY: TINDERS

Tinders that commonly have been ignited with sparks from marcasite are:

1. Plant down tinders: Willow catkins were often rubbed in softwood charcoal (Hough 1928:571-577; Murdoch 1988:289-291). Specific willows were *salix lanata*, used for lining a dry moss tinderbundle; Arctic cotton (*Eriophorum calothrix*, not a true willow); and *Silex herbacea* or *Silex alexendis* (Watson 1939:11-14).
2. Bird down tinders, also rubbed in charcoal, were: eagle thigh covering, used by Canadian Montagnais, being the bird under-down, well dried; the same, used by Tierra del Fuegians of South America; and Canada Jay under-down, used by the former Beothucks of Newfoundland (Hough 1926:122).
3. Punky wood or touchwood had widespread use as tinder. Brereton (in Russell 1980) said this was preferably from birch; also dry powdered wood such as beech rot could be used, or other dry rotten wood; agave flower stalk was suitable (Miller 1926), or cedar wood finely pulverized could be used.
4. Fungi were the most common tinders. Among these were: *Phellinus igniarius*, with old caps often black and cracked and *Polyporous igniarius* or *Fomes igniarius* (Waugh 1973). Peter Kalm, a Swedish botanist, stated in 1749 that near Red Hook, on the Hudson River, people used a "yellow *Agaricus*, or fungus, which grows on maple trees, for tinder. That which is found on the red-flowering maple (*Acer rubrum*) is reckoned the best, and next in goodness is that of the sugar maple (*Acer saccarinum*), which is sometimes reckoned as good as the former" (Kalm 1964, I:331). An Indian recipe for preparing a *fomes* (fungus) which is similar to European *Amadou*, required "boiling it or throw[ing] it into hot ashes, then beaten well, between two stones" (Hough 1926:121).

David Aurora gives the following: *Fomes fomentarius*, a "hoof shaped fungus, resembles *Polyporous ignarius* in color but has hard thick surface crust . . . It grows on dead hardwoods, (especially birch and maple) or from wounds in living trees, . . . as its name implies, it has been used for centuries to ignite fires (Aurora 1986:581-582). *Inonotus obliquus* has a "fruiting body, dark brown to black, hard on the outside, it is often cracked and usually irregular, or canker like in shape; and is found mainly on birch. The *Inonotus* species typically produces white rots, sometimes called touch wood" (Aurora 1986:566-567).

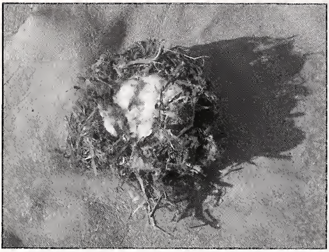

Figure 8.11. A tinder bundle is lined to make it flammable.

Farther south, the *Cracked-cap polypore* is also known as the "Locust Tree Fungus" (W. Beauchamp 1905:91-93). Other tinders are: Puffball spores, pulverized (powdered) cedar bark and fine moss (Goodchild 1991:55-59) (Figure 8.11.).

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CHAPTER 9

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER AND THE MOHICANS

Hugh C. MacDougall (2003)

In 1826 James Fenimore Cooper, a rapidly rising young writer, published *The Last of the Mohicans* (Figure 9.1). He did not know that the novel would launch him into world-wide fame, nor could he have known how the very title of his book would make the word *Mohican* immortal, nor of the burden it would soon place on the Mohicans themselves, by seeming to portray them as extinct.

This paper considers how *The Last of the Mohicans* came to be written, where Cooper got his information about Native American culture, and how his portrayal of Native Americans in that novel and elsewhere has provided readers around the world with a sympathetic understanding of Native Americans and their culture. George Copway, the first Native American journalist, spoke no more than the truth, it seems, when he wrote to Cooper in 1851 that "you have done more justice to our down trodden race than any other author" (Beard 1968).[1]

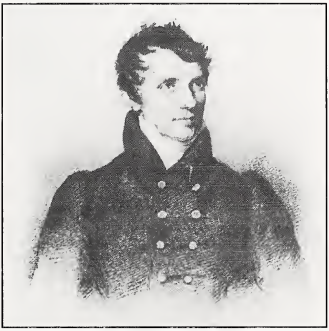


Figure 9.1. A portrait from the 1820s shows the young James Fenimore Cooper. (Engraving from a portrait attributed to Madame Lizinska de Mirbel.)

The paper will discuss the Mohican nation itself, as well as Cooper, and uses the word *Mohicans* rather than the term *Mahicans*. As in Cooper's writing and in his sources, the word *Delawares* is used here instead of *Lenni Lenape*. In addition, the terms Native American and American Indian are used interchangeably. Cooper, like his sources, sometimes lumped together the *Mohicans* of New York and the *Mohegans* of New England and considered both as offshoots of the Delaware nation (Heckewelder 1876).[2] Thus, when the Mohican, Chingachgook, first appears in *The Pioneers* in 1823, he is referred to as John Mohegan. Natty Bumppo, the frontier scout of Cooper's five so-called "Leatherstocking Tales," is also referred to by varied names, including Leatherstocking, Hawkeye, and Deerslayer[3]

Mohican Seminar 3, The Journey–An Algonquian Peoples Seminar, edited by Shirley W. Dunn. New York State Museum Bulletin 511. © 2009 by The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, Albany, New York. All rights reserved.

To begin, how did *The Last of the Mohicans* come into being? James Fenimore Cooper was just starting his long writing career. In *The Spy,* published in 1821, he had discovered more or less by accident that there was an enormous demand—both in America and in Europe for stories based on American history. *The Spy* was a novel about the Revolutionary War, just outside New York City, but one of its principal reviewers suggested that "The Indian wars. . .are fruitful of incidents, which might [be used] to great advantage . . . and the Indians themselves are a highly poetical people" (Dekker 1973).[4] The reviewer even told Cooper where to look, saying, "if we may credit the flattering pictures of their best historian, the indefatigable Heckewelder, not a little of softer interest might be extracted from their domestic life . . ." (Dekker 1973).[5]

Cooper accepted the reviewer's advice and read John Heckewelder's two principal books: one, published in 1819, describing in detail the history and culture of the Delaware Indians,[6] the other, published a year later, recounting the history of the Moravian Church missions among both the Delaware and the Mohicans.[7]

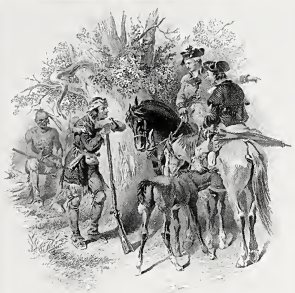
Cooper could not have chosen better. John Heckewelder had spent his life among the Delaware Indians of Pennsylvania and Ohio, among whom were Mohicans who had fled to Pennsylvania in the 1740s from a Mohican community at Shekomeko, in eastern Dutchess County, New York (Smith 1948; Dunn 2000).[8] Heckewelder spoke the Delaware language, was a keen and perceptive observer, and sincerely admired Native Americans. Of him and the other Moravian missionaries, his biographer Paul Wallace has written: "They did not make an assault upon the Indian's personality. [Their] purpose was to restore the morale of broken peoples, to give them enough of the white man's skills to enable them to live beside him without pauperization, in a word, to give hope to the displaced persons whom the Europeans' roaring advance across the continent had left in its wake" (Wallace 1958).[9]

In response to his research, Cooper's next novel was *The Pioneers,* published in 1823. It would be the first of the five novels known as the Leatherstocking Tales.[10] Set during the 1790s in the New York frontier community of Templeton (based on the Cooperstown where he had grown up), *The Pioneers* first introduced the character of Natty Bumppo. He would do the most to make Cooper famous. An aged, ungainly, and illiterate woodsman, he is at the same time humane, wise, and skilled in frontier lore. Natty Bumppo is living out his life on the fringes of the New York frontier village of Templeton. He is accompanied by his life-long friend and companion, a Mohican named Chingachgook, which name, as Cooper had read in Heckewelder, is Delaware for "the Great Snake (Heckewelder 1876)."[11]

This intimate friendship between Natty Bumppo and Chingachgook echoes through all of the five Leatherstocking Tales. It would be picked up and imitated in American literature down through two centuries in many examples of culturally diverse male bonding, including the Lone Ranger and Tonto, and even Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn (Figure 9.2.).

Chingachgook, as Cooper's readers meet him, is an old man, nominally a Christian, living off the traditional crafts and herbal remedies he can sell to the white villagers of Templeton and often succumbing to the lure of alcohol. In short, he is just the kind of Native American that settlers on New York's post-Revolutionary frontier knew best. But at the end of the novel, facing death in a forest fire, Chingachgook says, referring to himself by his settler-given name of John Mohegan:

> *There will soon be no red-skin in the country. When John has gone, the last will leave these hills, and his family will be dead . . . But he will go to the country where his fathers have met. The game shall be plenty as the fish in the lakes. . .and all just red-men shall live together as brothers . . . [Mohegan] has seen the days of an eagle, and his eye grows dim.*



"Then you must have lost your eyesight afore losing your way, for the road across the portage is cut a good two rods, and is a grand a path I calculate, as any that runs into London, or even before palace of the king himself."

Last of the Mohicans, Page 44.

Figure 9.2. Natty Bumppo, watched by Chingachgook, at left, with Uncas nearly hidden beside him, derides some greenhorns for their lack of trail skills. The lost men were English officers. This engraving of an incident from *The Last of the Mohicans* appeared in an 1861 book, *Pages and Pictures from the Works of James Fenimore Cooper*, with notes by his daughter, Susan Fenimore Cooper.

> *He looks on the valley; he looks on the water; he looks in the hunting-grounds—but he sees no Delawares. Every one has a white skin. My fathers say, from the far-off land, come. My women, my young warriors, my tribe, say, come. The Great Spirit says, come. Let Mohegan die . . . .*
> *Did Mohegan ever lie? No; the truth lived in him, and none else could come out of him. In his youth, he was a warrior . . . In his age, he was wise; his words at the council fire did not blow away with the winds. . . .*
> *The path is clear, and the eyes of Mohegan grow young. I look but I see no white-skins; there are none to be seen but just and brave Indians. Farewell . . . you shall go to the white man's heaven; but I go after my fathers. Let the bow, and tomahawk, the pipe, and the wampum, of Mohegan, be laid in his grave; for when he starts 'twill be in the night, like a warrior on a war-party, and he cannot stop to seek them (Cooper 1826).*

Thus, in an amazing turn of events for an 1823 novel by an author who was himself a devout Christian, does Chingachgook revert to his traditional religious beliefs.[12] Cooper scholar Barbara Mann, herself a Seneca Indian, has argued that even in this early novel Cooper, learning from Heckewelder, replicates the dualistic cosmology of Native Americans from the eastern woodlands with "sometimes surprising accuracy," and that "more often than one might expect, Cooper lifts the cultural veil to enter genuinely Native mindsets . . . (2002)."[13]

It is fair to say that when *The Pioneers* was published, Cooper had no immediate idea of further books about Natty Bumppo and Chingachgook. In the summer of 1824, James Fenimore Cooper accompanied four young English noblemen on a trip across upstate New York. The stops included celebrated battle sites. After touring Ticonderoga, Saratoga, and Lake George, the party came to Glens Falls on the Hudson, where they visited an island riddled with caves, between two branches of a waterfall (Figure 9.3). One of the Englishman, who later became Prime Minister of Great Britain, remarked that the island would make a fine scene for a romance,[14] and Cooper responded that "I must place one of my old Indians here" (Stanley 1930:1-5).[15]

Thus was born the idea for *The Last of the Mohicans*, with the cave at Glens Falls playing an important role in several of its early chapters.[16] The novel was written during the summer of 1825, and published the following year. It instantly became a best seller and has remained in print ever since. Europeans quickly translated it (Spiller 1934),[17] and the book is today available in over thirty languages.[18]

A summary of the plot of *The Last of the*

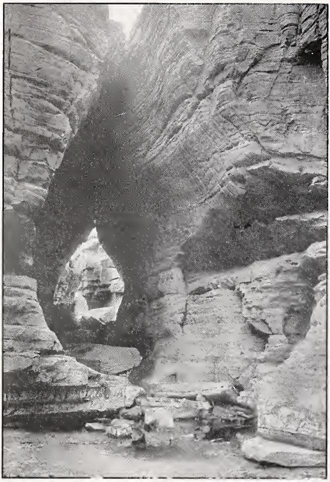


Figure 9.3. This view of the cave within an island at Glens Falls, featured in the adventures in *The Last of the Mohicans,* dates to 1917. The open cleft overhead was closed when Cooper visited in1824. (Photo by O.A. Brower, in *New York State Historical Association Yearbook,* Vol. XVI.)

Mohicans follows: The story takes place in 1757 and revolves about the historical siege and capture by the French of a British fortress at Fort William Henry on Lake George. Natty Bumppo (here called Hawkeye) is in the prime of his manhood, serving as a British army scout with his Mohican friend, Chingachgook, and the latter's adolescent son, Uncas.[19]

As the novel opens, Duncan Heyward, a Virginian in the British Army who knows nothing of the wilderness, is escorting two half-sisters, Cora and Alice Munro, to join their father at Fort William Henry. They are led astray by hostile Indians, but Natty and his Indian friends rescue them and after some hair-raising adventures deliver them safely to the fort. On the way Duncan Heyward falls in love with the pretty, but helpless, Alice. Uncas, in turn, is attracted by her half-sister, Cora, a brave and resourceful woman who is painfully aware of her partly African ancestry, the first African-American heroine in American literature.

Early in the novel Natty Bumppo introduces Chingachgook to Duncan Heyward: "You see before you, all that are now left of his race . . . a chief of the great Mohican Sagamores! Once his family could chase their deer over tracts of country wider than that which belongs to the Albany Patteroons [Patroons], without crossing brook or hill, that was not their own; but what is left to their descendant! He may find his six feet of earth, when God chooses; and keep it in peace, perhaps, if he has a friend who will take the pains to sink his head so low, that the ploughshares cannot reach it!" (Cooper 1823).[20]

After the surrender of Fort William Henry, Duncan Heyward, Cora, and Alice are again captured by hostile Indians and carried off, this time into the heart of the Adirondack Mountains — which in 1826 was a wilderness still virtually unexplored by colonial residents. Natty Bumppo, Chingachgook, and Uncas follow their trail, to find a fictional world in which Native American culture is portrayed in some depth as Cooper imagines it had been before the white invasion.

By the end of the novel Cora and Uncas have been killed and are buried by the Delawares in a traditional ceremony.[21] Duncan Heyward and Alice live on to found a new Euro-American race. Their grandson will be the romantic hero of Cooper's next novel, *The Prairie* (1827).[22] And the two loners, Natty Bumppo and Chingachgook, leave together for further adventures, which Cooper would only chronicle some years later, when *The Pathfinder* was published in 1840. Their earlier history would be detailed in *The Deerslayer* of 1841.

Throughout *The Last of the Mohicans,* Cooper drew very heavily on John Heckewelder's detailed descriptions of Delaware—and by inference Mohican—life and culture (Stockton 1964).[23] He thus gave ordinary people, readers of popular novels around the world, sympathetic and generally accurate information about Native American life they would not have known otherwise. Though it is easy to quibble about the details, Cooper sought to let his readers look at Native American life from a Native American perspective.

Very few other American writers in the early nineteenth century portrayed Native Americans with sympathy;[24] most reduced Indians to simplistic stereotypes,[25] or made them into diabolical villains.[26] Cooper provided detailed, sympathetic information about traditional Native American culture, and, of course, few but Cooper wrote about the Mohicans.

Throughout his long writing career, Cooper continued to invite his white readers to identify themselves with Native American characters, and to understand, even when they might not agree with, expressions of Native American protest against the conquest of their continent and their culture. Some eleven of Cooper's thirty-two novels include substantial sections involving American Indians. Even the Indian villains have serious reasons for their actions. In three instances characters, including the vengeful Magua of *The Last of the Mohicans,* are portrayed as reacting to having been physically beaten and humiliated.[27]

Why did Cooper choose to write about the Mohicans, and why did he consign them to premature oblivion? As his daughter, Susan Fenimore Cooper, noted, the Mohicans were the original inhabitants of New York's Hudson River Valley,[28] and, she added: "He knew perfectly well that the entire tribe was not extinct" (1876).[29] In the introduction to a revised edition of the novel, Cooper explained that: "The Mohicans were the possessors of the country first occupied by the Europeans in this portion of the continent. They were, consequently, the first dispossessed; and the seemingly inevitable fate of all these people, who disappear before the advances, or it might be termed, the inroads of civilization . . . is represented as having already befallen them" (Cooper 1831).[30]

Cooper saw only one real hope for Native American survival; that the Federal Government should create an Indian territory beyond the Mississippi, far from the greed and corruption of the advancing line of white settlement. Writing in 1828, he said that: "Should such a Territory be formed, a nucleus will be created around which all the savages of the west, who have any yearnings for a more meliorated state of existence, can rally."[31] In this case, Cooper believed, "an amalgamation of the two races would in time occur." "Those families of Americans," he noted," who are thought to have any of the Indian blood, are rather proud of their descent. . ." (Cooper 1828).32

Despite the popular success of Cooper's Indian novels, many white Americans were, and would continue to be, profoundly prejudiced against Indians. Throughout Cooper's lifetime, he was frequently denounced for his favorable portrayals of Native American characters and culture. In particular, Lewis Cass, a noted American statesman, writer, and very popular politician, repeatedly sought to destroy both Cooper's reputation and Heckewelder's, as well (Walker 1965).[33]

Two decades after Cooper's death in 1851, Mark Twain, creator of the evil "Injin Joe" in his novel *Tom Sawyer,* would launch a prolonged crusade against Cooper's depictions of Native American life from which Cooper's reputation has never really recovered. In *Roughing It*, published in 1872, Mark Twain, after fraudulently claiming to have been "a disciple of Cooper and a worshiper of the Red Man—even of the scholarly savages in the *Last of the Mohicans,*" went on to assert that all Indians were in reality "treacherous, filthy, and repulsive . . ." (Twain 1872).[34] In 1884, Twain began, but never finished, *Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer Among the Indians*, a projected novel in which Tom Sawyer reads Cooper and takes Huck Finn out to the prairies to find Cooper's

Indians in real life, only to discover that Native Americans are really thieving, murderous rapists (Twain 1989).[35]

But the greatest damage came in 1895, when Twain published his humorous essay, "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses," in which he sought to demolish both Cooper's writing style and the Native American woodcraft described in *The Deerslayer* (Twain 1895).[36] What readers of this frequently anthologized article rarely realize is that it is filled with deliberate mis-statements and misquotations by Twain which completely distort what Cooper actually said in the novel (Myerson 1988).[37]

James Fenimore Cooper was a devout Christian and as firm a defender of some aspects of the United States of America as he was critical of others. He believed in American civilization and hoped, without any real expectation, that Native Americans would eventually become an integral part of it. He was not, and could not have been, a trained ethnologist, but he was unique for his time, in looking at Native Americans neither as degraded white men (savages), nor as idealized white men (the noble savages), but as members of cultures with their own values and traditions that had to be examined on their own terms. This view is what we might today call cultural relativism, but which Cooper called "gifts," and it sets Cooper apart from virtually all of his contemporaries.

Nowhere is this better expressed than in the last written of the five Leatherstocking Tales, *The Deerslayer*, in which a young Natty Bumppo, in the course of a long argument with Hurry Harry, a typical racist-spouting white frontiersman, asserts that: "I look upon the red men to be quite as human as ourselves . . . They have their gifts, and their religion, it's true, but that makes no difference in the end, when each will be judged according to his deeds, and not according to his skin . . . ." A red man and a white man "are both men. Men of different races and colours, and having different gifts and traditions, but, in the main, with the same natur's. . ." (Cooper 1841).[38]

James Fenimore Cooper's readings about Native Americans went far beyond Heckewelder.[39] His interest was not confined solely to books. He had been fascinated by Native Americans as early as during his childhood in the frontier village of Cooperstown (Beard, in Cooper 1983).[40] He had met bands of Indians both then and when serving in the Navy at Oswego on Lake Ontario (Cooper 1861).[41]

From 1813 to 1817, Cooper and his family lived at Fenimore Farm on the edge of Cooperstown. (Figure 9.4.) Living nearby on the shores of Lake Canadarago, less than ten miles to the west of Cooperstown, was John Brushell, a Mohegan Indian from the nearby Brothertown Community established before the Revolution by Samson Occom. According to local lore Brushell was called Captain John and had been a scout in the pre-Revolutionary British Army.[42] It seems very probable that Cooper, when he wrote *The Pioneers* in 1823, knew of this Native American, and in the absence of any similar figure in Cooperstown itself, drew on him in creating the character of John Mohegan, or Chingachgook.

In 1821 Cooper met personally with members of delegations of Western Indians visiting Albany and New York. They were on their way to Washington to negotiate with the Federal Government. Among them was *Ongpatonga*, the Omaha orator, and *Petelesharo*, a young Pawnee Chief then celebrated for having heroically risked his life to save an Indian girl of a different nation. Cooper later wrote to a friend in France that Ongpatonga had been a model for Chingachgook, and Petelesharo for Hardhart in *The Prairie* (Cooper 1861).[43] After Cooper had returned to Cooperstown to live in 1835, he was visited by Rev. Konkepot [Konkapot] and his son, who were members of the celebrated Mohican family.[44]

At the end of his life Cooper formed a friendship with an Ojibwa chief, George Copway (Kah-Ge-Ga-Gah-Bowh). Copway, who had been a guest at Cooper's home in Coopers-

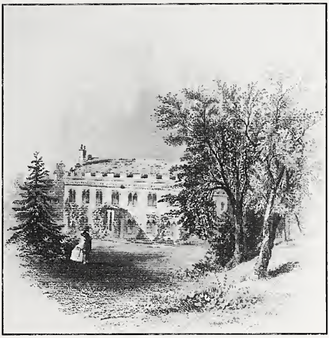


Figure 9.4. An engraving done of a painting by J. A. Hows shows the country seat of the family of James Fenimore Cooper, at present Cooperstown. The picture appeared in an 1861 edition of illustrations from Cooper's writings, with notes by Susan Fenimore Cooper.

town, wrote of him thus in the second issue of *Copway's American Indian* which he founded in 1851:

> *"It has been our good fortune to know [Cooper] personally for several years, and we have thought often when we read his lifelike descriptions of Indian character, we . . . should endeavour to [do him justice] for the exalted manner he has plead, of the wild and noble genius of the American Indians. No living writer, nor historian, has done so much justice to the noble traits of our people . . . . If the American can but be proud of such a literary man [as the author of The Last of the Mohicans], what must the man of the forest feel, when he reads of heroes (possessing all the noble traits of an exalted character) . . . and finds in the pages of history pencilled his forefather's features. . . . In mentioning the name of our worthy and honored friend, we will here report what we have often said in our association with the learned sages of the old world last summer — 'that Mr. Cooper's writings give a better idea of Indian character, than any man living or dead . . .' "(Copway 1851)*[45]

George Copway was probably the only Native American to write about Cooper during his lifetime. But his statement confirms that James Fenimore Cooper respected Native Americans, studied and admired many features of Native American culture, and used his pulpit as a very popular writer of novels to seek justice on their behalf. In that endeavor, his first novel to deal at great length with Native Americans, *The Last of the Mohicans*, played an important part.

A few lines from the ending of that novel underscore the injustice Cooper perceived: The scene is the Delaware encampment, presided over by the aged chieftain Tamenund.[46] Standing over the grave of his son, Uncas, Chingachgook looks forward only to a lonely life of isolation:

> *"My race has gone from the shores of the salt lake, and the hills of the Delawares. . . . I am alone." "No, no," cried Hawk-eye . . . whose philosophy could endure no longer; "no, Sagamore, not alone. The gifts of our colours may be different, but God has so placed us to journey in the same path. . .Sagamore, you are not alone!" Chingachgook grasped the hand that . . . the scout had stretched over the fresh earth, and in that attitude of friendship, these two sturdy and intrepid woodsmen bowed their heads together. In the midst of the awful stillness, Tamenund raised his voice to disperse the assembled mourners. "It is enough!" he said, "The pale-faces are masters of the earth, and the time of the red-men has not yet come again . . . In the morning I saw the sons of Unâmis happy and strong; and yet, before the night has come, have I lived to see the last warrior of the wise race of the Mohicans!" (Cooper 1826).*[47]

I have always been intrigued by Tamenund's rather unusual vision, "the time of the red-men has not yet come again . . ."

END NOTES

[1] Letter from George Copway to James Fenimore Cooper, June 12, 1851, quoted in James Franklin Beard, *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), Vol. VI., p. 275.

[2] In *The Pioneers* (1823) Cooper confuses the names of these two distinct Algonquian Native American peoples — and calls his Mohican hero "John Mohegan," although his imagined life-story clearly identifies him as a Mohican. In this Cooper was copying from his teacher Heckewelder, who considered the Mohegans and other New England Indians to be but a branch of the Mohicans of the Hudson Valley with whom he was personally familiar. "It is believed that the Mahicanni are the same nation who are so celebrated in the history of New England, under the name of the Pequods or Piquots." John Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States.* (Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1819; reprinted Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876 [facsimile edition New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1971]), p. 94 — hereinafter cited as *History* It was an error that Cooper would strive to correct in *The Last of the Mohicans.*

[3] The five are: *The Pioneers; or, the Sources of the Susquehanna* (New York: Charles Wiley, 1823 [citations are by chapter, and by page number in the definitive Cooper Edition — Albany: State University of New York Press, 1980]); *The Last of the Mohicans; A Narrative of 1757* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1826 [Cooper Edition, 1983]); *The Prairie; A Tale* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1827 [Cooper Edition, 1985]); *The Pathfinder; or, The Inland Sea* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1840 [Cooper Edition, 1981]); and *The Deerslayer; or The First Warpath* (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1841 [Cooper Edition, 1987])

[4] William Howard Gardiner, Review of *The Spy*, in *North American Review*, xv (July 1822), pp. 250-82. Quoted in George Dekker and John P. McWilliams, eds., *Fenimore Cooper: the Critical Heritage* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 61-62. See also James D. Wallace, *Early Cooper and His Audience* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 109-114.

[5] Gardiner, Review.

[6] Heckewelder, *History*. Cooper acknowledged his debt to Heckewelder in his 1850 introduction to the first collected edition of the Leather-stocking Tales, reproduced in James Fenimore Cooper, *The Deerslayer*, pp. 5-9, where he characterizes Heckewelder as "an ardent, benevolent missionary, bent on the good of the red man, and seeing in him one who had the soul, reason, and characteristics of a fellow-being."

[7] John Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Delaware and Mohegan* [sic] *Indians, from Its Commencement, in the Year 1740, to the Close of the Year 1808* (Philadelphia: M'Carty & Davis, 1820). Heckewelder (1743-1823) had first met Mohican Indians as a teenager in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (*History...*, p. 251) and subsequently, in 1762, became acquainted with a group of Mohicans, whose chief was called "Mohican John" by the white settlers in Muskingum, Ohio (*History...*, p. 93).

[8] Most of the Shekomeko Mohicans, and their Moravian mentors, left for Pennsylvania in 1745-46. DeCost Smith, *Martyrs of the Oblong and Little Nine* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1948), pp. 96-105; Shirley W. Dunn, *The Mohican World, 1680-1750* (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 2000), p. 256.

[9] Paul A. Wallace, *The Travels of John Heckewelder in Frontier America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958 [paperback reprint 1985]), p. 30.

[10] The collective term "Leatherstocking Tales," was not used until 1850, when Cooper published the first collected edition of the five novels, with a generic introduction to the series included in *The Deerslayer*.

[11] Heckewelder, *History...."* p. 431: "Chingachgook, *a large snake...."*

[12] Cooper, *The Pioneers*, pp. 415-423.

[13] Barbara Alice Mann, "Spirits of Sky, Spirits of Earth: The Spirituality of Chingachgook," *James Fenimore Cooper Society Miscellaneous Papers*, No. 17, September 2002, pp. 1-5 [on line at http://www.oneonta.edu/external/cooper/articles/ala/2002ala-mann.html].

[14] Susan Fenimore Cooper, *Pages and Pictures from the Works of James Fenimore Cooper* (New York: W.A. Townsend, 1861), p. 126; and her Introduction to the Household Edition of *The Last of the Mohicans* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1876), p. xi. Susan Fenimore Cooper mistakenly dated the visit as 1825.

[15] Edward Stanley, *Journal of a Tour in America in 1824-25* (London: privately printed 1930), p 34, quoted in James Franklin Beard, Historical Introduction to *The Last of the Mohicans* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), p. xx. Stanley, later the 14th Earl of Derby, served three times in later years as Prime Minister of Great Britain.

[16] Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*, pp. 49-93 [chapters 5-10].

[17] Robert E. Spiller and Philip C. Washburn, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Writings of James Fenimore Coop-*

er (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1934 [reprinted New York: Burt Franklin, 1968]), pp. 43-47.

[18] "Mohicans Around the Globe" in *The James Fenimore Cooper Society Newsletter*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (November 2002), p. 4.

[19] Uncas is, of course, a traditional name among the *Mohegans*, not the *Mohicans*. To this extent Cooper's confusion between the two groups continued.

[20] Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*, p. 127 [chapter 13]. This image clearly reflects that contained in a poem by Cooper's friend William Cullen Bryant, "An Indian at the Burial Place of his Fathers" (1824), in which a Native American returning to his childhood home finds his ancestor's bones plowed up by white settlers. "This bank, in which the dead were laid,/Was sacred when the soil was ours;/.../But now the wheat is green and high/On clods that hid the warrior's breast,/and scattered in the furrows lie/The weapons of his rest/And there, in the loose sand, is thrown/Of his large arm the mouldering bone...."

[21] Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*, chapter 33.

[22] Cooper, *The Prairie*, The romantic hero, Captain Duncan Uncas Middleton of the United States Army, is grandson to Duncan Heyward and Alice Munro, and from his middle name a sort of spiritual descendant to the lost lineage of Chingachgook and Uncas.

[23] The degree to which Cooper relied on Heckewelder in his descriptions of "traditional" Lenni Lenape culture, is explored at length in Edwin L. Stockton, Jr., *The Influence of the Moravians upon the Leather-Stocking Tales* (Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, Volume XX, Part 1, Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pa., 1964).

[24] *E.g.*, Lydia Maria Child, *Hobomok: A Tale of Early Times* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, 1824), and Catharine Maria Sedgwick, *Hope Leslie; or, Early Times in the Massachusetts* (New York: White, Gallaher, and White, 1827).

[25] *E.g.*, James Kirke Paulding, *Konigsmarke, the Long Finne: A Story of the New World* (New York: Charles Wiley, 1823); William Gilmore Simms, *The Yemasee: A Romance of Carolina* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1835).

[26] *E.g.*, Charles Brockden Brown, *Edgar Huntley; or, The Memoirs of a Sleep-Walker* (Philadelphia: Hugh Maxwell, 1799); and, perhaps especially, Robert Montgomery Bird, *Nick of the Woods; or, The Jibbenainosay: A Tale of Kentucky* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1837).

[27] The other two other cases are Wyandotté in *Wyandotté; or, The Hutted Knoll. A Tale* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1843), and Musquerusque in *Satanstoe; or, The Littlepage Manuscripts, A Tale of the Colony* (New York: Burgess, Stringer & Co., 1845).

[28] Susan Fenimore Cooper, Introduction to the *Household Edition of The Last of the Mohicans* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1876), pp. ix-x.

[29] *Ibid*, p. xxiv.

[30] Cooper, Introduction to *The Last of the Mohicans...revised, corrected, and illustrated with a new introduction....*" (London: Richard Bentley, 1831) Cooper edition pp. 6-7.

[31] James Fenimore Cooper, *Notions of the Americans: Picked Up by a Travelling Bachelor* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1828 [citations are to the definitive Cooper Edition — Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991]) p. 490 [letter 34].

[32] *Ibid*.

[33] See, e.g., Marcel Clavel, *Fenimore Cooper: Sa Vie et Son Œuvre: La Jeunesse (1789-1826)* (Aix-en Provence: Imprimerie Universitaire de Provence, 1938), pp. 574 ff. Cass' attack on Heckewelder is excerpted in Warren S. Walker, *Leatherstocking and the Critics* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1965, pp. 12-14.

[34] Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens), *Roughing It* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Co., 1872), pp. 148-149.

[35] Mark Twain, *Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer Among the Indians, and Other Unfinished Stories*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 33-81. Written in 1884, it was intended as a sequel to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

[36] Mark Twain, "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses," *North American Review*, Vol. CLXI (July 1895, pp. 1-12 [reprinted in George Dekker and John P. McWilliams, *Fenimore Cooper: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 276-286].

[37] See Lance Schachterle and Kent Ljungquist, "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Defenses: Twain and the Text of *The Deerslayer*," in Joel Myerson, ed., *Studies in the American Renaissance, 1988* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 401-417 [on line at: http://www.oneonta.edu/external/cooper/articles/other/1988other-schachterle.html].

[38] Cooper, *The Deerslayer*, p. 59 [chapter 3].

[39] For extensive surveys of Cooper's sources of information about Native Americans, see, e.g.: Will J. Alpern, "Indians, Sources, Critics," *James Fenimore Cooper: His Country and His Art*, Papers from the 1984 Conference at State University of New York College. Oneonta: State University of New York College at Oneonta, 1985), pp. 25-33 [on line at: http://www.oneonta.edu/external/cooper/articles/suny/1984suny-alpern.html]; Arthur C. Parker, "Source and Range of Cooper's Indian Lore," *New*

York History, Vol. 35, No. 4 (October 1954), pp. 447-456 [on line at: http://www.oneonta.edu/external/cooper/ articles/nyhistory/1954nyhistory-parker.html].

[40] So he reportedly told Charles Augustus Murray. James Grant Wilson, *Bryant, and his Friends: Some Reminiscences of the Knickerbocker Writers* (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1886), p. 237, cited in James Franklin Beard, introduction to *The Last of the Mohicans* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), p. xvii.

[41] Susan Fenimore Cooper, *Pages and Pictures*, p. 129.

[42] See, *e.g.*, W.T. Bailey, *Richfield Springs and Vicinity* (New York & Chicago: A.S. Barnes, 1874), pp. 34-37; Henry A. Ward, *Annals of Richfield* (Utica: Pierstine Printing House, 1898), pp. 52-54. Brushell is listed in the genealogical appendix in W. DeLoss Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1899 [facsimile edition: Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000]) p. 337.

[43] Susan Fenimore Cooper, *Pages and Pictures...*, p. 130; James Fenimore Cooper, letter to the Duchess de Broglie, March 22 [1827], in James Franklin Beard, *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960-68), Vol. I., p. 199. See also, Cooper, *Notions of the Americans*, p. 491 [letter 34], on Petalesharo.

[44] Susan Fenimore Cooper, *Rural Hours* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1850 [citations are to the scholarly edition edited by Rochelle Johnson and Daniel Patterson, Athens: University of George Press, 1998]), p. 110 [March 17].

[45] George Copway, in *Copway's American Indian*, Vol. I, No. 2, July 19, 1851 (quoted in *Newsletter of the James Fenimore Cooper Society*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (August 1996).

[46] Tamenund (Tamanend) is presented as being the famous Delaware chief who welcomed the arrival in Pennsylvania of William Penn, who became celebrated as a symbol of a wise and honest Indian leader. See., e.g., C.S. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972), pp. 167-177. Although the real Tamenund died before 1700, Cooper extended his lifetime by six decades in order to introduce him into *The Last of the Mohicans.* Ironically, Tamenund's name has been preserved principally as "St. Tammany"—the patron saint of the one-time New York City political machine, which had a reputation for being anything but wise and honest.

[47] Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*, p. 350 [chapter 33].

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CHAPTER 10

THE IMPACT OF JOHN VAN GELDER, MOHICAN, HUSBANDMAN, AND HISTORICAL FIGURE

Debra Winchell (2004)

On June 6, 1719, the banns of marriage were first announced for Jan Van Gelder and Anna Maria Koerner by the Kingston Dutch Reformed Church (Hoes 1980:536, no. 408) in upstate New York. The family spelled the name Van G-e-l-d-e-r. English-speaking people tended to spell it G-i-l-d-e-r. Jan or John Van Gelder was a Mohican Indian. His remarkable life, which came to a tumultuous end as a result of the Livingston rent wars of the 1750s, bridged two worlds—the colonial and the Native American.

MARY KARNER

It is clear where Anna Maria Koerner, also known as Mary Karner, came from. The church records said she was born in "Hoogduytsland" (Germany) (Hoes 1980:536). Her family was one of the German Palatine families living in the Hudson Valley. Karners were first listed on the Hunter Lists in 1710 in West Camp in Ulster County, New York. In 1716/17 the family was recorded as living in Beckmansland, in the Dutchess County area (Simmendinger 1966:15). Mary's father, Nicholas Karner, and her brothers, Andrew and Lodowick, were naturalized September, 1715, in Kingston. Nicholas was listed on the tax rolls in Dutchess County for 1718/19 and 1720/1721. Mary's younger siblings, Johann Adam and Catharina Elisbetha, were baptized at the West Camp Lutheran Church in 1711 and 1714 respectively (Jones 1985:477-478;).

How did Anna Maria, the young German woman, come to marry Jan Van Gelder, a young aboriginal man? It must have had something to do with the situation in which the German Palatine refugees found themselves. They came to America destitute, owning only the clothes they wore. They didn't receive the money, land, or most of the supplies they were promised. They were indentured to Robert Livingston, putting them in a social class lower than their European neighbors. In 1711 many of the men volunteered for a military expedition to Canada; upon their return, they found their families starving. Their weapons were taken away, even though the reigning British Queen Anne had requested they be allowed to keep them. After suffering through another hard winter, the Germans began looking for relief and some found it among the native people of the Mohawk Valley (O'Callaghan 1856:707-714). Others obtained farms in neighboring areas.

There is a local tradition that the Mohicans gave Andrew Karner land in Berkshire County of western Massachusetts so that his sister, Mary, could marry John Van Gelder (Kellogg 1992:8). Tradition further says that this was mentioned in the lease. That account may not

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be true, however, as in 1719 Nicholas Karner was still alive. He, rather than Andrew, would have been the head of the family and should have received any "bride price." Moreover, in 1720 Nicholas and Andrew Karner were both recorded as living in the Coxsackie-Catskill area in New York State on the west side of the Hudson River (O'Callaghan 1979:373), rather than in Berkshire County. Moreover, it took Andrew time to settle down. It was six years later, in 1726, that he married a German woman, Elisabeth Stüber (Kellogg, 1992:5). If there was a lease for Indian land written at the time of John and Mary's marriage, it is now missing. A later lease is recorded for Andrew Karner's parcel of land (BMDDR 23:208-209).

JOHN VAN GELDER

It is less clear where John came from. Hamilton Child in the *Gazetteer of Berkshire County, Massachusetts 1725-1885* wrote: "John Van Guilder was a strong Indian boy, who, having found a home with a Dutch family living just over the line in New York, took the name of his foster father, though his real name was Konkapot" (Child 1885:140).

Some historians have taken Child's word as truth and perpetuated these fallacies. Some have even confused John with Joachim Van Valkenburgh, a Dutch trader well known to the Mohicans in Stockbridge. Research suggests different conclusions than Child's. So far no record has been found of a Van Gelder family living north of New York City in the late 1600s, especially in the area indicated by Child. There is only a record of an Elizabeth Van Gelder, who belonged to the Albany Reformed Church (First Church in Albany 1978:6,13) in New York State. It seems doubtful a Van Gelder *family* adopted John, but possibly Elizabeth Van Gelder took him in. Several of the native people entered into the baptismal record there may have left behind orphaned children. However, there are no baptismal or membership records for John Van Gelder in the Albany Reformed Church.

The Indian called Konkapot, whose Mohican name was Pophnehonnuhwoh, was the sachem of the Mohican band that lived in Stockbridge in western Massachusetts (Dunn 2000:58; Frazier 1992:1). Konkapot was estimated to be in his early forties in 1734 and John might have been about twenty-one when he married in 1719 (Dunn 2000:170; Frazier 1992:1). The two men were probably about ten years apart in age, making it impossible for Konkapot to be John's father. In fact, in a deed of June 19, 1744, confirming land to John Van Gelder west of the Sheffield line, the quartet of Konkapot, Skannop and Poniote of Housetunnock mentioned "the love & Esteem we have of our friend John Van Guilder" (Wright 1905:141). If John was known as Konkapot as Child stated, that name in relation to the Van Gelders should have appeared in contemporary records. John has never been identified by the Konkapot name in such documents. For example, the road from John Van Gilder's to John Van Alstyne's, within the lands reserved for the Mohican Indians in the Town of Sheffield, was noted in a deed of 1736 (Wright 1905:134).

Another assumption lacking documentation has been that Nock Namos, a native woman living in Fishkill, Dutchess County, New York, was John's mother. The only hint comes from a deed dated June 1, 1756, a quit claim deed for the reserved Indian land on which John lived. The deed states the land was given to John: "For and in Consideration of the love and affection I have and Do bear unto John Vangilder living west of Sheffield in ye sd County of Hampshire Husbandman and for many other good Causes and Considerations me hereto moving as well as Sundry sums of money & other presents . . ."(Wright 1905:155).

The wording makes it seem likely they were acquainted and had a very close relationship, possibly a biological one, but the deed does not state a relationship and no other document has been found so far that does. She could have been a sister, a close cousin or a sister-in-law as well. If Nock Namos were his mother, she would have been about seventy-three years of age or older in 1756. That she stated she was an "Indian woman now of the Fishkills in Dutches County. . .formerly of Housatunnock" suggests that John had relatives, not only in the Housatonic area in Massachusetts (Wright 1905:155-157), but in Dutchess County as well. Other people have suggested that John's mother was European. It would be neither safe nor correct to assume her ancestry. In any case, the Mohican Nation considered John Van Gelder a full-fledged member of their nation.

A Dutchess County document strengthens the possibility of a relationship between John Van Gelder and the Wappinger nation in Dutchess County. Nock Namos at Fiskill appears to have been in the same area as the Wappinger Nimham family. The Wappinger leader known as "Old Nimham" was living on land reserved for him near the Town of Fishkill in the Wiccopee area of the county. He died about 1750 (Smith 2004:55). Soon thereafter, a son, Daniel Nimham, the Wappinger sachem, was living at Stockbridge among the Mohicans with some of his tribal members (Smith 2004:57). Daniel Nimham died during the American Revolution in 1778, leading Indian troops.

In 1767, the *New York Executive Council Minutes* listed as evidence in a trial a ". . . Power of Attorney from Jacobus Nimham, Hezekiah Winchel, Jacob Vangelder, Andrew Vangelder, John Vangelder, and Mary Winchell investing Daniel Ninham [,] with the Powers of a Sachem of the Wappinger Tribe[,] to act for them as to their Claims to Lands whereon Encroachments had been made" (New York Executive Council Minutes: Manuscripts. Vol. 26:83). The first person listed, Jacobus, was a brother of Daniel Nimham. The second, Hezekiah Winchell, was the husband of John Van Gelder's daughter, Catherine, and no native ancestry has been documented for her husband. It is possible that in Mohican tradition the spouses of Mohican people were considered members of the nation. This was true of the neighboring Abenaki people. Jacob, Andrew and John Van Gelder were the sons of John Van Gelder. Mary Winchell could have been the wife of Joseph Van Gelder or an undocumented daughter of either Hezekiah Winchell and Catherine Van Gelder or Peletiah Winchell and Magdalena Van Gelder.

A speech that Jonathan (the son of Mohican sachem Abraham, of Shecomeko) delivered at Fort Johnson in central New York indicated that the Van Gelders may have had ties to more than one native nation. Possibly Nock Namos was living in the Fiskills because she had married a Wappinger man who may have been John Van Gelder's blood relative, or even his father. It is hoped that further research will provide this information and clarify family relationships. A clue to John's background lies in a deposition given for a court case concerning the boundary dispute between the lands of Robert Livingston and John Van Rensselaer. John Van Gelder's son, Joseph, stated that his father's name was originally "Toanunck," definitely proving Child wrong. Richard Moore, another witness, testified that he believed that John Van Gelder "belonged to the Catt's Kills," referring no doubt to the Catskill band of Mohicans (NYHS 1768).

A deed he signed April 25, 1724, indicates that John was among the Mohicans. It was the last deed for the area of land called Westenhook, containing Sheffield, Great Barrington and parts of Stockbridge and Lee. Twenty other Mohican men signed the deed, including Konkapot (Wright 1905:116-118).

POSSIBLE CONNECTIONS TO MOHICAN LEADERS

John Van Gelder may have been related to Tataemshatt, the sachem of the band of Mohicans living in Tachkanick (later anglicized to Taconic), as Tataemshatt was originally from the Catskill creek area, midway up the Hudson Valley (Dunn 2000:69). Richard Moore didn't say that John was born in the Catskill area, just that he was from the Catskill band (NYHS

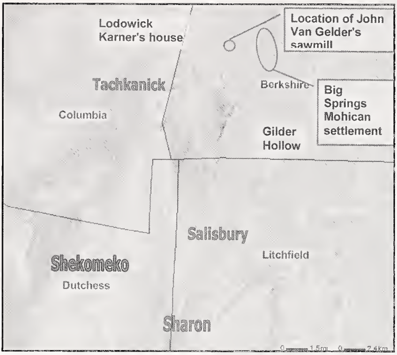

Figure 10.1. Van Gelder settlements were located in Berkshire County, Massachusetts. Tachkanik and Shekomeko were in New York States.

1768).Van Gelder could have been related to Tataemshatt's.son, Catharickseet, or to Catharickseet's son-in-law, Ampamit, who was the chief sachem at Schodack (Dunn 2000:281). He may also have been related to Mohicans of the Shekomeko area.

Shirley Dunn in *The Mohicans and Their World* shows that the Mohican people identified themselves with former land that they had sold to Europeans, even while living in different areas (Dunn 2000:80). Tataemshatt subsequently lived in the Taconic area to the west of the Taconic mountain range. He and his people sold their Taconic land to Robert Livingston, Jr. in 1686 and 1688 and moved to the east side of the mountains, to the Salisbury, Connecticut, area, according to Dunn (2000:88, 92, 127). This area has been vaguely referred to as "Housatonic."

John Van Gelder was born in the 1690s and lived his documented life in the area of today's Egremont, located on the same eastern side of the Taconic mountains as Salisbury. Traveling from west to east through the mountains was fairly easy. There is a pass through the mountains leading from Taconic to the valley in which Lodowick Karner built his house. The trail continued east to his brother Andrew Karner's house and to where his sister, Mary, lived with her husband, John Van Gelder, and their family. (See Map of Mohican and Van Gelder Settlements, Figure 10.1.).

Tataemshatt's son, Catharickseet, was also a sachem of Taconic. His name appeared on several deeds. He was heavily relied on as a witness who remembered the boundaries of the Livingston Patent. He identified a certain pile of rocks, called Wawanaquasick, whose location was in dispute. Later on, in court testimony, Joseph Van Gelder, John's son, spoke about this pile of rocks (Dunn 2000:89-96; NYHS 1768). Joseph said Nannahaken, Skaunnop, Poniote, and Umpachene (all Mohican leaders) had told him about the rocks.

Catharickseet eventually moved to Gnadenhütten in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania (Dunn 2000:261). Some of the native people from Gnadenhütten moved to the upper branches of the Susquehanna River area in 1756 for safety (Calloway 1995:111; Hunter 1974:76; JP 9:682). This group of people could have included some of Catharickseet's family. Nicholas Van Gelder, John's eldest son, went to the Chenangos, meaning the native people living north of later Binghamton, when his father was jailed (O'Callaghan 1856:207). It seems most likely he would go there if friends or family already were there.

SHEKOMEKO WAS CLOSE TO TACONIC

John also may have had ties to the people living in the Mohican community of Shekomeko, which became a Moravian mission. The village was located south of Taconic and near present-day Pine Plains in northeastern Dutchess County. According to Moravian records, Mannanockqua was a Mohican woman who controlled the land around Shekomeko until she died in an epidemic, perhaps in 1684. She left two children, one of whom died shortly after she did. Mannanockqua had requested two Mohican men, one of whom was Tataemshatt, to act as guardians for her children. Mannanockqua's surviving daughter, Manhagh, married Argoche, also spelled Agotach (Dunn, 2000:241; Smith 2004:58). They were the parents of Shabash, also called Abraham (Dunn 2000:241). Manhagh was one of two women who sold land along the south curve of the Roelof Jansen Kill to Robert Livingston, Jr., in 1697, indicating that the Roelof Jansen band and the Taconic band lived side by side at one time (Dunn 2000:242).

Shabash, later known as Abraham, was closely associated with Tataemshatt and later with the Van Gelders. Both sachems were listed on land records for the Shekomeko and Salisbury, Connecticut, areas (Dunn 2000:242). Abraham also lived in the Sharon, Connecticut area, as did John's son, Andrew Van Gelder. Andrew enlisted as a private in the company of Captain Samuel Elmer of Sharon, Connecticut, in April, 1761, during the Seven Years' War (CHS 1903).

Abraham and his family moved to Gnadenhütten, Pennsylvania, and then to the Chenango area with the other Moravian Mohicans in 1756. The large Mohican village there was known as Otsiningo, a variation of the word Chenango. In the early spring of 1757 Abraham and many other Mohicans traveled to Fort Johnson to ask Sir William Johnson for help in obtaining John Van Gelder's release from the Albany jail (Hunter 1974:76; O'Callaghan 1856 249-251). John Van Gelder and his son were being held as a result of a violent encounter between Indians, householders and Robert Livingston's men.

VAN GELDERS IN DEEDS

The Van Gelder name was also included in several of the deeds for Berkshire County. As far as is known, the Van Gelders were the only area Mohican family to be represented by a surname. In 1737, John Pophnehonnuhwoh (Konkapot), Skannop, and Poniote deeded half of the reserved Indian land in Berkshire County to John Van Gelder (Wright 1909:141). The other half was given to John's brother-in-law, Andrew Karner, either by deed or lease.

In 1756 there were five deeds that included Van Gelders. The first is what appears to be the quit claim deed for the Indian land from Nock Namos. The remaining four were township deeds including mostly European settlers, among whom were several local Van Gelders. It is impossible to know whether the Van Gelders considered themselves part of the township group and wanted to be included in the opportunity, or if the Mohican nation wanted to include land as part of the transaction for the benefit of this family that seemed to be well established in the area. It is interesting to note that in two of the deeds, the one for Egremont where John Van Gelder lived and the one for Mount Washington, Massachusetts, the township directly to the south, the proprietors paid very little money. For the Egremont deed to sixty-five people, the payment was only twenty pounds. For the Mount Washington deed to forty-three people, the payment was seventy-five pounds, not a lot of money. In comparison, the Mohicans were paid 200 pounds for the Hillsdale land, 230 pounds for the Austerlitz, New York, land, and 561 pounds for the Copake, New York, land (Wright 1905:153-154, 158-163,165-169).

Two of the deeds were for areas where the Taconic band formerly lived. Copake was part of Tataemshatt's land of Taconic. Austerlitz was part of the disputed land east of Pathook that Tataemshatt claimed (Dunn 2000:277). Three Van Gelder sons were included in the Austerlitz deed, and eight Van Gelders, including the father and two of his sons-in-law, were included in the Copake deed.

The Van Gelders may have been deeded land because they were related to influential Mohican people in Stockbridge. Tataemshatt's granddaughter (Catharickseet's daughter) was the wife of Ampamit, the Mohican chief sachem who lived at Schodack, on the Hudson River in the 1730s (Dunn 2000:281). Ampamit's brother, Tonwehees, was one of the signers of the Taconic deed. Solomon Uhhaunauwaumut was the head of Ampamit's family and was selected as chief sachem at Stockbridge in 1771 (Dunn 2000:282, 287). According to Timothy Woodbridge, many of Ampamit's family resided at Stockbridge. There may have been a family connection between Benjamin Kokhekewnaunaunt, chief sachem at Stockbridge during the 1750s, and his successor, Solomon Uhhaunauwaumut (Dunn 2000:279; Frazier 1992:112). Benjamin's father was David Nannackchin, also known as Nannahaken, who told Joseph Van Gelder about Wawanaquasick (NYHS 1768). Benjamin's grandson was Jacob Cheeksaukun, a very influential and highly respected member of the Stockbridge community. Jacob was the Mohican man who kept appearing at Fort Johnson, expressing Mohican concern about the Van Gelders' imprisonment. As previously mentioned, one Van Gelder descendant, a John Van Guilder (it's not known which one) held land in West Stockbridge with others of the nation, and his lot bordered those of Peter Pohquunaupeet and Benjamin Kokhekewnaunaunt (Kaukewenaunaut) (PR, Vol. II:653). Possibly leaders of the Stockbridge community were taking care of some of their members. Considering that John Van Gelder was imprisoned while two of the deeds were written, that may have beeen the case. Rhoda Ponoades, heir to Poniote, deeded land to Matthew Van Gelder because he was imprisoned with his father (SL).

The Mohicans may have deeded land to the Van Gelders as a survival strategy for the nation. The site of a Mohican village, inhabited for a long period of time, called Big Springs for the spring there, lay within the bounds of the land the nation gave to Andrew Karner; it was close to where John Van Gelder lived. Perhaps they thought they would be able to retreat there if need be.

JOHN VAN GELDER'S HOME AND SAWMILL

When did John Van Gelder live in Berkshire County, Massachusetts? Joseph testified that "His father lived there better than fifty Years as his Mother and father told." That half-century might have begun about the time of his parents' marriage in 1719. The church record of 1719 said that both Mary and John were living in Dutchess County (Hoes 1980:56). However, that statement could have meant the western part of Massachusetts, because New York State, and Robert Livingston, Jr., claimed that land, and anyone allied with them called it Dutchess County.

To determine where John and Mary Van Gelder lived is a challenge. John was a "husbandman" (an old term for farmer), as the records say (HCPFC 9:22-23; MW, 1993:1104; Wright 1905:155-157). He also supported his family in part by operating a sawmill. (See Figure 10.2.) He was in a partnership with his brother-in-law, Andrew Karner. Although it was called Van Gelder's sawmill and John owned equipment there, Andrew deeded the

Figure 10.2. The site of John Van Gelder's sawmill, above, was in South Egremont. (Photograph by Debra Winchell, 2004.)

mill to Francis Heare, the husband of his granddaughter, Mary Karner, in 1785 (Kellogg, 1992: 24, 25). It is not known when the sawmill was started, but John was definitely astute enough to take advantage of the partnership and the European technology.

There is documentation in the Proprietors Records referring to the sawmill in the surveys for the Shawanon Purchase of 1756. The southwest corner of Nehemiah Messenger's lot was on the north line of the Indian land "near a half mile westward of Van Gelder saw-mill (PR, Vol. II:672)." John must have operated it because in his will he mentioned irons at the sawmill (HCPFC 9:22-23). The eastern corner of Edmund Bayley's lot was nearby. The survey record for Priscilla Smith's land reads "there is the road leading from Vangelder's Saw Mill to Claverack and that from Andrew Karner's northward are both throw [through] part of this lot (PR, Vol. II:672, 679)." This places the sawmill in South Egremont, to the southeast of the intersection with Route 23 at the entrance to the village of South Egremont. (See Figure 10. 3.)

It would be logical that the family would have lived within walking distance of the mill. Our ancestors walked much more than we do. A generous radius would be two to three miles. The best and most easily accessible land would be east of South Egremont, between John's eastern line and the sawmill. The deed mentioned above from Rhoda Ponoandes to Matthew Van Gelder, Sr., supports this probable location. It refers to a road that went from John Van Guilder's to Sheffield.

According to son Joseph Van Gelder, "his Fathers Land was near the flat Rock, the Rock fifty or sixty Rods to the East of his Fathers Land" (NYHS 1768). The rock Joseph speaks of could well be a large formation located west of the village of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, between a road called the West Sheffield Road and the Green River at the base of a hill thought to have been used as a look-out by the Mohicans. It is also near the Big Springs area. A petition of February 8, 1743, by Samuel Winchell, Sr., as well as surveys in the Proprietors' Records for neighbors James Saxton and Samuel Winchell, Sr., support the location (MA 46: f. 152). In addition, the vestiges of an old farm road that led from the area to South Egremont can still be seen. The age of the road is unknown, but it could have originated with the eighteenth century inhabitants, or even with the Mohicans themselves. West of South Egremont lay good hunting land. John Van Gelder's land most likely lay directly west of the rock. (See Map of Karner and Van Gelder lands, Figure 10.3.)

If both the information and the analysis of deeds involving John and his brothers-in-law are correct, John and his German brothers-in-law held the land communally, as the partnership in the sawmill further suggests. This would be similar to the way native people shared the land (Russell 1980:21). Although the Mohicans gave Andrew Karner the northern half of the land reserved for them by the 1724 deed and John Van Gelder the southern half (BMDDR Bk 1:144), Joseph's testimony places his father's holdings in the northeastern corner of the land (NYHS 1768). In 1745 John gave fifty acres of this land, the southeast corner of the grant, to Lodowick Karner (HCRD Bk O:420). Lodowick's house was built in the

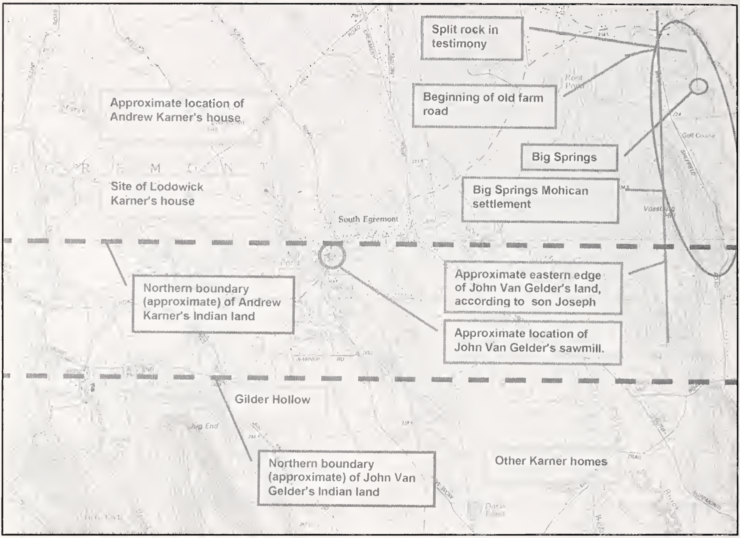
Split rock in testimony
Beginning of old farm road
Approximate location of Andrew Karner's house
Big Springs
Site of Lodowick Karner's house
Big Springs Mohican settlement
South Egremont
Approximate eastern edge of John Van Gelder's land, according to son Joseph
Northern boundary (approximate) of Andrew Karner's Indian land
Approximate location of John Van Gelder's sawmill.
Gilder Hollow
Jug End
Northern boundary (approximate) of John Van Gelder's Indian land
Other Karner homes
Golf Course

Figure 10. 3. A survey map shows the Karner and Van Gelder lands in Massachusetts.

northwest corner of the grant, the sawmill was to the east by the northern boundary and Andrew lived between them. In addition, a list of improved lands in the Massachusetts Archives lists a "John Vanguilder" living under the mountain near Lodowick's (Kellogg 1992:26). That was probably John and Mary's son, John.

There is a local tradition that the area in Egremont where the Van Gelders lived was called Gilder Hollow and that Gilder Hollow was the valley along Fenton Brook now called Jug End. Lodowick lived at the head of the valley and the second John Van Gelder lived not far away. It could be that the hollow was named after this namesake and his family, rather than the original John Van Gelder.

John Van Gelder was a practicing Christian. In referring to Joseph Van Gelder (John's son), Timothy Woodbridge, the Mohicans' teacher and adviser at Stockbridge, said, "his Father an Indian his Mother a White Woman and well behaved. . .His father attended the publick Worship and was Christened as he told the witness. The Family…were esteemed to be christians like the rest of the Neighbors" (NYHS 1768).The first record of John's religious life is the banns of his marriage in the

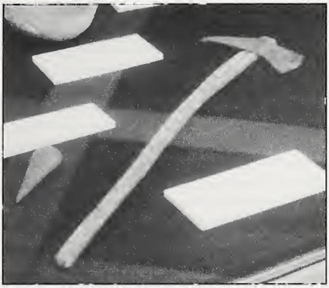

Figure 10.4. A tomahawk, believed to be John Van Gelder's, had descended to the John Tuller family. It was donated by Ann Karner Tuller to the Berkshire Museum. Photograph by James N. Parrish.

records of the Dutch Church of Kingston. There are existing baptismal records for three of the children. Those for the other children may have been among data missing from the Rhinebeck Dutch Reformed Church in Rhinebeck, New York. John visited both the Stockbridge and Moravian Missions and listened to their preachers. This is not surprising since he had family or friends in both locations. The minister of the Stockbridge Mission, John Sergeant, asked him what he thought of the Moravians. His comparison of the two missions was quoted in the Moravian Diary for June 21, 1743.

> *"I think they preach the Truth right, better than you. When I hear them it is always so with me that I feel they speak downright to the matter, that must be in the Heart, but on the contrary, ye go always a round bout way, and therefore your People remain as they were, and you don't do right that you let them go so when you have Baptised them, and ye are not faithful to them therein Behold, the Husbandman, when they have Planted Indian Corn, they see if it grows and look after it, but you let* y^{r}*. People go and take no care of them, if they Love God, or if they perish" (MOA III:2).*

These words indicate that John was a thoughtful, intelligent and plain-spoken man. That may be one reason why Timothy Woodbridge said he "was put on the same footing with respect to the Laws as the Whites were, other Indians were not so considered" (NYHS 1768). John may also have been accepted by the European community because he seems to have adapted successfully to the encroaching European culture. According to Woodbridge, "The Family lived in a Manner of the English" (NYHS 1768). John married a white woman, operated a sawmill (which was a respected occupation), followed the Christian religion, and sent his children to the Stockbridge Mission school. He was eventually deeded about 1200 acres, a considerable amount of land, by the Mohicans. If he was also kin to the influential Mohican community leaders, the Europeans who wished to profit by them would most likely treat John with some respect.

FAMILY RECORDS FROM DEEDS AND WILLS

Land records and John Van Gelder's will furnish the names of John and Mary's children. They are mentioned in the various land deeds in the family, although Town of Egremont records were destroyed in a fire. In this fire information on three generations of the family was lost. The children were:

Nicholas Van Gelder, born 1720 (Kellogg 1992:43).
  Married (1) unknown.
    (2) Elizabeth (Kelly 1974: 76, no. 1525).
    (3) Mary Welch (Sheffield)

Joseph Van Gelder, born July 14, 1722, baptized November 21, 1722, in Dutch Reformed Church, Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, N.Y. (Kellogg, 1992:3). Baptismal sponsors Joseph and Anna Reichard..
  Married Mary Holly Winchell, also known as Molly (daughter of David Winchell), May 23, 1748 (Kelly 971:2, record no. 40).

John Van Gelder, Jr., also known as Johannes Van Gelder and Hannes Van Geldern, baptized May 23, 1725, in Linlithgow Reformed Church, Columbia Co., N.Y. (Kelly 1968:3, no.43). Baptismal sponsors Johannes Spoor and Maria Singer.

Married (1) Catrite Karner, married October 27, 1747 (Sheffield 104).
(2) Geetruyd (Kelly 1974, record no. 1525).

Matthew Van Gelder Sr., baptized September 1, 1728, in Kingston, Ulster Co., N.Y. Baptismal sponsors Matheus Slegt, Catalyntjen Kip (Hoes 1980:176, record no. 3774).

Catharine Van Gelder, also known as Catalyntje Van Gelder, Cartrite, Garthiat (BMDDR Bk 4:325: Bk 14:61, 323).

Married Hezekiah Winchell, Sr., son of Samuel Winchell Sr. and Hannah Parsons (Kellogg 1992:5; Wright 1905:161).

Jacob Van Gelder, Sr., died before June 12, 1787 (HCPFC 9:22-23).

Married Mercy (von Sahler, p. 292)

Andrew Van Gelder (HCPFC 9:22-23).

Henry Van Gelder, died before May, 1758 (HCPFC 9:22-23).

Magdalena Van Gelder, also known as Martaliner (BMDDR Bk. 4:327).

Married Pelatiah Winchell, (son of David Winchell Jr. and Mary; HCPFC 9:22-23; BMDDR, 4:327).

There are also two Van Gelders whose places in the family are unknown, Nathaniel and Fineas. Nathaniel fought in the American Revolution in the same regiment as Benjamin Van Gilder, son of Jacob Van Gilder; (MSSRW 1919:282-283, 285, 307, 426) and Fineas was documented as living in the Town of Mount Washington (PR, Vol. II:733).

The spouses for four sons, Nicholas's first wife and Andrew, Henry and Matthew's wives are unknown. The latter three sons had wives, or at least they had sons. Records may also be missing because the individuals identified with the Mohican population. If they did, they were not part of the European community, and they were not recorded as members of congregations. During the eighteenth century, the area became increasingly polarized between colonials and native peoples due to the increasing demand for land as well as conflict along the frontier between the French and British governments, involving native peoples. For people of mixed ancestry, it was easier, and sometimes necessary, to choose a side. Joseph Van Gelder seems to have chosen the white path. Since he was the only son to be interviewed for the crown court case, it is possible he was the only son to do so, or the only son judged reliable enough by male European interviewers. Perhaps the sons lacking appearances in contemporary English records followed the red path. One of John's descendants was on a survey map with other Mohicans in West Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

LIVINGSTON BOUNDARY DISPUTE EXTENDS INTO MASSACHUSETTS

The names Van Gelder, Karner and Winchell were common in Berkshire County deeds until the end of the eighteenth century. Deeds given by Mohicans from 1756 to 1765 seem to be in response to the boundary dispute between Robert Livingston, Jr., and the settlers of western Berkshire County. Livingston claimed more land than the Mohicans thought he had purchased from them, land lying in western Berkshire County (Dunn 2000:79, 91-92), and for various reasons the settlers, some of whom had been Livingston tenant farmers, sided with the Mohicans. Livingston was backed by the New York colonial government, whose Westenhook Patent extended east to the Housatonic River. The settlers were backed by the Massachusetts government, whose charter extended its western limit to the Pacific Ocean. Neither government was ready to give in. The settlers began to petition the Massachusetts government to settle the boundary dispute so they could have their own title to land in Massachusetts. Livingston received notice in 1752 that the Massachusetts government would start surveying and selling its unincorporated lands, meaning land in western Berkshire County (O'Callaghan 1849:442).

The Mohicans had heard that Massachusetts was going to create two more towns and apparently didn't trust the government to pay them. From May 25, 1756, to July 25, 1759, they wrote six deeds for land in the contested area (twelve altogether for Berkshire County) and the Van Gelders were included on five. The Lords of Trade in London decided on the boundary line between Massachusetts and New York by the end of 1757, but the survey to finalize the line would not take place for ten years, leaving residents in uncertainty (Frazier 1992:152). A quit claim deed from the Mohicans for all their unsold land west of the Westfield River except for Stockbridge and a parcel of land to the north was written January 12, 1763 (Dunn 2000:354; Frazier 1992:148; Wright 1905:184-187).

The first documented appearance of John Van Gelder as one of those opposing Robert Livingston was on May 6, 1755. On April 13 of that year, William Rees was shot as he was trying to escape when John Van Rensselaer and some employees broke into his house in the disputed area to arrest him (O'Callaghan 1849:788-9). Afterward the Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts sent orders to the civil and military officers of the area to apprehend those responsible for Rees' death and offered a bounty of one hundred pounds.

On May 6, a large group of men from Berkshire County, which New York people called "the New England Company," went to Livingston's iron works in Ancram, New York and captured several workers whom they suspected were involved and took them to the Springfield jail (MAA 1756; O'Callaghan, 1856:791). Livingston employee Dirck Swart estimated in a message to his employer that 103 men were involved in the posse. Livingston's letter of June 23 stated it was "103 men and 5 Indians." The five native people were probably Van Gelders. According to a petition read in the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay Colony asking for the one hundred pound reward, there were 105 men involved. In this report, no differentiation was given between white and native men. The petitioners included John Van Gelder and his sons John, Joseph, Hendrick and Matthew (MAA 1756).

VIOLENCE ERUPTS

The accounts of the fateful event of November 25, 1756 vary greatly. This was also the one year anniversary of the massacre of Moravian missionaries and Mohicans at Gnadenhütten by Shawnees (Dunn 2004:100). It seems likely John was well acquainted with the victims. It is possible the emotional import of this anniversary may have influenced the actions of the day.

According to Governor Charles Hardy of New York, the sheriff of Albany County, Abraham Yates Jr., went with some men to the Egremont area to turn the "most riotous" of Livingston's tenants out of their houses and put Livingston in possession. While the sheriff was at Hendrick Brusie's house, John Van Gelder, his son, Matthew, and Benjamin Franklin "in a riotous manner" came armed to the house and threatened to kill the sheriff and his men if they touched the house. Matthew and Benjamin were seized. On horseback at the rear, John allegedly shot his gun, killing Adam Rivenberg, and rode off. He was pursued, seized and imprisoned in the Albany, New York jail where all three were indicted by a Grand Inquest. (*New York Mercury* Article). Hardy wrote to the Lords of Trade December 22, 1756, further elaborating his description, saying that "the Rioters" came well armed "with a Gun Bayonet, Hatchett, Powder and Ball . . . presenting their Guns at him and his company." The sheriff ordered his posse to surround them (O'Callaghan 1856, 7:206).

In a deposition two days after the shooting, James Conner reported John's eldest son, Nicholas, threatened the life of Timothy Conner and said that he would "burn down Mr. Livingston's house over his head." He and his brother Jacob went to the Mohicans in Stockbridge to obtain their help. Some of the people in Sheffield thought they would help the sons. If they didn't, Nicholas said he would go to the Mohawks for help (MA Vol. 32:750).

The Governor may have fictitiously elaborated his account. Neither Livingston nor

Hardy reported that in addition to throwing the residents off the properties, their houses were torn down as well (JMHR 1919:241). Hardy also claimed the sheriff's men were unarmed, which doesn't seem likely. In July, 1752, "Livingston with above sixty men arm'd with Guns, Swords, and Cutlasses, in a very hostile and riotous manner, entered upon part of said Lands in the possession of Josiah Loomis," cut down wheat Livingston claimed as his own and destroyed over five acres of Indian corn (O'Callaghan 1850, 3:755). In February, 1754, the same sheriff, Abraham Yates Jr., had been threatened and captured at pike point by Robert Noble and a group of men including some of the very men he was later sent to dispossess. No Van Gelders or Winchells were listed. Yates was taken to the Springfield jail and held until he paid a bail of 150 pounds (O'Callaghan 1850, 3:777-78). Yates later wrote to the Lieutenant Governor of New York:

> *"Noble Who took me Prisoner has made a kind of fort of his House, made Loop Holes in it to fire out of, and there are Continually a Number of Armed men going together there Abouts, So that it is unsafe for me or any officer of this Government, to Execute Our Offices in these Parts" (O'Callaghan 1850, 3:784-85).*

TENANTS CHANGE ALLEGIANCE

Livingston already had information that a new militia company had been set up in the area by the Massachusetts government and that two men, his former tenants, were commissioned as officers. Ephraim Williams, Jr., had indeed been given blank militia commissions for some settlers (Frazier 149; O'Callaghan 1850, 3:774-45, 782, 788) and the petition of the "New York Company" indicates the presence of military officers (MAA). In May, 1755, Timothy Conner with thirty or forty men under Livingston's orders invaded the house of John Hallenbeck and broke holes in the wall and chimney to set up two swivel guns. In addition each man with Conner had "a small, or Sword, or Cutlass in order to defend" himself (O'Callaghan 1850, 3:800). The displaced occupants were told that Livingston was going to set up a fort with one hundred men. A message from his wife dated November 9, 1755, informed Livingston that there were seventy to seventy-five men from the Massachusetts Bay Colony at the garrison on Michael Hallenbeck's land and that people sent by the Massachusetts government were beginning to survey the land for distribution (O'Callaghan 1850, 3:813). There were various times when Livingston supporters had invaded Berkshire County heavily armed and attacked and wounded people. The man who shot William Rees was still at large. There had already been gunfire and death. If the Van Gelders were armed, then so was the sheriff's posse.

There was very little written about Timothy Conner's part in the shooting. Nicholas's vehemence implies violence between his family members and Conner that went unreported. Timothy Conner, Livingston's head collier, had been sent into the Taconic area before by his employer. Two events graphically demonstrate his method of interaction with the people there. Joseph Pain testified that on August 19, 1753 he was sick in bed when a man under the employ of Livingston forced open his door and came in. After Pain told his daughter twice to shut the door, Timothy Conner came in, and entered the other room where Pain's son-in-law Jeebord Avery was also in bed. Conner commanded "git up, you devil!" When Avery said he wouldn't, Conner's response was "Stand off then [I] said git up or I will run my sword into your ass." Avery's child was next to his father and Avery replied, "You will kill my child." Conner immediately seized him, pulled him out of bed, and dragged him out of the bedroom through the house where another man also seized him. "Immediately the house was filled full of men with swords drawn in their hands and some with pistels in their girdles to the number of about ten men an draged the sd Eavery out of doors" (Shearn 1976:15-16).

That same day Jacob Spoor went to investigate the sound of guns going off at the house of Michael Hallenbeck. He was in the road when Timothy Conner confronted him with a sword in hand, saying "What have you to do to stop [our excise] men on the King's Road. Dam you." He struck Spoor on the head with his sword, cutting through his hat to his head, making him bleed. Then he threatened to cut his ears off. Spoor replied, "That was easy for him to do," and tried to escape. A gang of men went after him with clubs and he was beaten and seized (Shearn 1976:15-16).

MASSACHUSETTS SUPPORTS THE MOHICANS

If this is what happened to Joseph Pain and Jacob Spoor, what happened to John Van Gelder and his son Matthew? Indeed, members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, at the request of Lieutenant Governor Phips, investigated the incident and stated: " . . .we have not forgot that one other had lost his Life before, when flying for the Preservation of it unarmed, from a Banditti who pursued him. . .By the best Intelligence we can obtain of the late Transaction, it does not appear to us, that the Indians imprisoned were Agressors, but rather on the contrary, that what they did was in their own Defence" (JMHR 1919:296-297).

The Massachusetts findings seem to agree with the impressions of people who actually were in the area. Timothy Woodbridge wrote to Lieutenant Governor Phips,

> *"... But however that be, on the 25th of Nov^br^, our day of publick Thanksgiving to almighty God A company of men about one hundred appear in arms, at the said Taukonnuck, to disposses the Inhabitants of their houses and lands and accordingly turned two families out of door, and pulled down their houses, as I am informed by those suffering people. . .There happed to be, at Tauhkonnuck, three Indians, of the Stockbridge tribe, who belonged to Sheffield, and also one English man, these persons appearing dissatisfied with such violent measures (tho its said made no opposition) the party engaged for Mr Levingston undertook to make them prisoners, and in this offray one of the said Indians, shot one of the other party to death. The Indian that killd the man, his name is John Vanguilder, he, one of his sons, and a man whose name is Franklin, was all taken, and committed to Albany Jail, in irons, who I hear, Suffer extremly. As the persons Committed for the fact are Subjects of this Government, and the place where the fact was Committed, is disputed as to Jurisdiction, Our Indians are desireous these persons should be demanded from that Government, into this, for trial which perhaps, all things considered, there is good reason for. . . (MA Vol. 32, P. 751)."*

In response to a letter and a large belt of wampum from Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the Mohican chief sachem Benjamin Kokhkewaunaunt replied to him:

> *"... as we hear the matter, we don't understand that the old Man or his Son made any Attempt against any Man, till those People that were turning the poor Families out of Doors undertook to make them Prisoners, and if the Old Man made not any resistance we cant see what right there was of Attacking him or any others that was in the highway in the Peace of the King . . . The Contention of the Land we will leave to the White People, but Brother we desire if it can be, that Van Guelden may be brought into our Province for his Trial since he belongs to us & we shall be willing that Justice may take place" (JP 9:581-2).*

MOHICANS INSIST ON FAIR TREATMENT

The Mohicans were very insistent that John Van Gelder receive fair treatment. On January 23, 1757, Captain Jacob Cheeksaukun asked Sir William Johnson if John and Matthew would be hanged. Johnson gave him a noncommittal answer (JP 9:590-91). Cheeksaukun appeared at Johnson's again on February 27, "begging Justice might be shown to them." The Mohican leaders asked that the Van Gelders be tried in Massachusetts. Upon the Mohican man's return and additional inquiry on March 5, Johnson promised to write a letter to the New York governor. Johnson's letter was focused on his negotiations with the Six Nations. He briefly mentions the Van Gelders and a letter from Benjamin, sachem at Stockbridge, at the end of the letter (JP 9:642).

While Johnson put the Mohicans off, the Lenape and Shawnee along the colonies' western frontier were attacking British settlements and jeopardizing the British position, during the Seven Years' War. The French had intentionally aligned themselves with native nations and the majority were French allies. The British were unsure even of the support of the Mohawks, the Iroquois tribe most favorable to the British. The Mohicans were threatening to end their alliance with the British; Captain Jacob Cheeksaukun had told Johnson that if the payment for the Mohican soldiers who had fought in 1756 was not taken care of, that the Mohicans "had no reason to join them any more" (JP 9:590-1). Johnson was receiving intelligence that the French and their native allies were poised to attack New York's western frontier, the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys. He was in the process of negotiating with a large group of Lenape, Shawnee, Tuscarora, and Nanticoke living in the Chenango area. These people recently had been driven out by Europeans from the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia (O'Callaghan 1849:748). An affront to the native people from the British had the potential of igniting a war of great proportions with combatants from many native nations, which would gravely jeopardize the British war effort and the existence of their colonies.

It was at this time that Nicholas Van Gelder went to the same area in an effort to gain support from native people in his effort to free his father and brother. On April 15, 1757, fifty-three Shawnees, nine Nanticokes and one hundred forty-seven Mohicans under the leadership of Abraham arrived at Fort Johnson. They had traveled from the Chenango area "regardless of the severity of the season, and thro' snow ice and water." Their arrival was unexpected. Johnson used it as an opportunity to persuade these native people of the benefits of supporting the British (O'Callaghan 1856:245-9). His visitors had additional matters on their minds. Abraham's son, Jonathan, spoke for the group since he spoke very good low Dutch (O'Callaghan 1856:245, 250).

> *"Brother. We . . . must beg leave to say something to you from ourselves, and which is of great importance to us. Brother. Please to lend us your attention a little. 'Tis now 9 years ago that a misfortune happened near Reinbeck in this Province; a white man there shot a young man an Indian. There was a meeting held thereon, and Martinus Hoffman said 'Brothers there are two methods of settling this accident, one according to the White people's customs, the other according to the Indian: which of them will you chuse? If you will go according to the Indian manner, the man who shot the Indian may yet live. If this man's life is spared, and at any time hereafter an Indian should kill a white man, and you desire it, his life shall be also spared . . . Brother. You told us two days ago that when a man is dead, there is no bringing him to life again. Brother, we understand there are two Indians in jail at Albany, accused of killing a man; they are alive and may live to be of service, and we beg you in the name of the Great King our Father that they may be*

> *released. All we that are here present, among whom are some of their nations, are all much dejected and uneasy upon this affair, and do entreat that these people may be let free, which will give us all the highest satisfaction" (O'Callaghan 1856:250).*

Jonathan ended his speech by giving Johnson a great bunch of wampum, larger than a large wampum belt, signifying what he said was extremely important to the native people there. That same day Johnson wrote to Governor Hardy:

> *"Inclosed I sent your Excellency a Copy of what the Shawanese and Monsey or Mohickander Indians settled at Jenango on a Branch of the Susquehannah River have this Day said to me, relating to the two Indians who are in Albany Jail, on an Account of Murder. Your Excellency will See in how strong a Manner their Request is urged, and they appear to be extreamly anxious for the Result of it, they are a very numerous and encreasing Settlement . . . I cannot but of Opinion, that to cultivate their present favourable Dispositions will be of very great Importance to the Welfare of this and the neighboring Governments. I should not urge this Matter upon Your Excellency in so warm a Manner, if I were not convinced that the Release of the two Indians in Jail will I am persuaded contribute very much to the public Welfare at this Juncture, so far at least as Indian Affairs have, or can have any Connection with it" (JP 9:686).*

JOHN AND MATTHEW ARE SET FREE

According to a letter from Robert Livingston, Jr., to Sheriff Abraham Yates Jr. dated May 10, 1757, John and Matthew Van Gelder had been set free by this date. Unfortunately Benjamin Franklin died of smallpox while in jail (AY Box 1: 31). Governor Hardy later condemned their release in a letter to Johnson after Joseph Van Gelder was involved in a new armed stand-off resulting in a shooting on May 7, 1757 (O'Callaghan 1849, 2:744-45).

In this case, Livingston came into the disputed area with Justices of the Peace, two constables and a posse, most likely to force ten men into serving in an expedition for the Seven Years' War. Hardy claimed John Van Gelder and his sons were principals in the confrontation. John appears to have been physically debilitated by his imprisonment, so it seems unlikely that he could have participated. Johnson wrote a letter to the Mohican council at Stockbridge reproaching them for selling their land independently and failing to keep their kinsmen out of the Livingston conflict (JP 9:766-767).

Robert Livingston himself was extremely agitated. The settlers in the area he claimed did not capitulate after the shooting and still stood firm in their resolve to resist. It is unclear from his correspondence which Van Gelder, whether Nicholas, Matthew or John, Sr., repeatedly threatened to kill and quarter Livingston. In his May 10 letter the patroon wrote to Yates, "I am on my Guard, & you'll I Suppose not be Surprised when you hear that I have Shott him, which I am determined to do the first time I see him (AY Box 1:29)." Later on, on May 15, 1757, he wrote,

> *"I was just now told that John Van Gelden and his Son are lett out of Goal, which has allarmed me not a little, as I fear he will come & burn me down, or waylay & kill me, at lest he will joyn the Rioters & do all the mischief in his power so that I shall be obliged to leave my Estate & possessions to their fury Good God what an affair is this; prey how came it about that he is Sett at Liberty be so good as to advise me & is he ther I am left to defend my Self without the assistance of Government or Laws, if so, I will remove Immediately with my family, as its impossible for me to defend my Self against, a Government bent on my distruction, & seek Someplace of refuge. Pray advise me perticular that I may not continue in the Dark but remove in time " (AY Box 1:28).*

LETTER TO ROBERT LIVINGSTON

The only record of any sort of contact found between Robert Livingston and members of the Van Gelder family is "a very Impertinent Letter of John VanGelden" according to Livingston, "Demanding of me to Restore his horse, Saddle Bridle Guns & (etc.?) of him and his Son, or that he would prosecute me (&c) & ordered my young man to write him (AY 1:32)."

John Van Gelder was illiterate. It is quite likely his son, Joseph, who had received some schooling at the Stockbridge Mission and also was involved in the resistance against Livingston, wrote the letter. Joseph may have been partially or wholly responsible for the phrasing of the letter. Livingston ordered his assistant to write John and tell him that it was the sheriff, not he, who took the items and that he needed to contact the sheriff, and that although he had been released from jail, he hoped that John would be brought to trial at a more convenient time. The letter confirms that John had been on horseback and he had been armed (AY Box 1:32).

John may have been set free without a trial, but he was not to live much longer. He wrote a will dated May 22, 1758. He died before September 12, 1758, for on that date James Saxton, Robert Joyner and John Coates were appointed to inventory his estate. Therefore John must have died just over a year after he was released from jail. His signature on his will indicates that he was frail and weak and his imprisonment may have hastened his death.

After Nock Namos' deed of June 1, 1756, John deeded half of his land, 650 acres, "for and in Consideration of the Love and good will I have to my well beloved wife Marey Vanguilder...for the Love and good Service She hath Done to me and mine (HCRD Bk Y:39)." In his will dated May 2, 1758, he gave his "dearly beloved wife" all his rights in land (one right in Taconic beyond the mountains, one right in the Taconic mountains, and one right in the Indian land), all his moveable estate, his house and barn, and all his lands. He did not follow the tendency of colonial American men to neglect their wives in their bequests; he followed Mohican custom that the dwelling and all its furnishings belonged to the woman and gave her what was already hers (Chitwood 1931:446; Dunn 2000:176; Ulrich 1980:7). He gave five shillings each to his children, who were Nicholas, Joseph, John, Matthew, Jacob, Andrew, Magdalena and Catherine, and to his grandson, James Van Gelder, son of his deceased son Henry. The acreage of the land he currently held was a total of 500 acres, somehow having lost 100 acres over the years, and the total value of his estate was 666 pounds and 10 shillings (HCPFC 9:22-23).

Beginning in April, 1760, the widowed Mary Van Gelder began to dispose of the land she possessed. These deeds were for sales of her right to Taconic to Jonathan Root, and for land to Joseph and Enos Westover and John Thomas (BMDDR 1:120, 154-156, Bk 2:462). In other deeds she conveyed land to her children Andrew, Jacob, Matthew, and Catherine (BMDDR 2:462; Bk 4:328, 343; Bk 12:438; Bk 14:61) and to grandchildren named Eliakim, Hezekiah, Joel, David, and Sarah Winchell, and Isaac, Nicholas, and John Van Gelder (BMDDR 4:325, 327, 328, 344, 345; 12:439). The last deed was written April 6, 1778. According to a deed between her daughter, Catherine, and her grandson, Eliakim Winchell, Mary died before October 21, 1782 (BMDDR 14:205).

JOHN VAN GELDER'S LIFE: OVERVIEW

John Van Gelder was a Mohican man who lived during a time of great change for the Mohican nation and for Berkshire County, Massachusetts. Connected to influential Mohican families living at the Stockbridge Mission, he was fortunate enough to be happily married to a German woman, to own substantial acreage, and to have a large family. Fellow

Mohicans deeded land to him and his brothers-in-law, which they used jointly. John supported himself and his family with his farm and a partnership in a sawmill. Encroachment on neighboring lands, the result of colonial settlers' desire for native land, culminated in conflict and open warfare, of which he was one of the victims. As a result of his participation and his release from the Albany jail, he has become a historical figure, a crucial player in the events of the time. Because he was well-respected and loved, as Mohican land slipped away, through their property deeds the Mohicans and John's wife, Mary Van Gelder, tried to ensure that John's descendants would keep part of their ancestor's land.

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BSDDR Berkshire Southern District Deed Registry. Town Hall, Great Barrington, Massachusetts.

HCRD Hampden County Registry of Deeds, Springfield, Massachusetts.

HCPFC Hampden County Probate and Family Court, Springfield, Massachusetts.

MA Massachusetts Archives, Boston, Massachusetts.

MAA Volume 105 of the Massachusetts Archives, Microfilm A180, *Petitions 1643-1775*, Diazo Duplicate.

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CHAPTER 11

THE INTERCONNECTED LIVES OF STOCKBRIDGE INDIANS MARY (PETERS) DOXTATER AND PETER POHQUONNOPPEET

Richard G. Niemi (2003)

The National Women's Hall of Fame, in Seneca Falls, New York, honors women "whose contributions to the arts, athletics, business, education, government, the humanities, philanthropy and science, have been of the greatest value for the development of their country." Among the (chronologically) earliest honorees are women such as Myra Bradwell (b. 1831), one of America's first woman lawyers, and Mary Ann Shadd Cary (b. 1823), who established schools for Negroes and was the first black woman to receive a law degree.

About the time these honorees were born, and just seventy miles east of Seneca Falls, in the vicinity of New-Stockbridge, New York (now Munnsville), there died a Mohican Indian woman who exhibited some of the same characteristics. She opened schools of spinning and weaving in her own and a neighboring tribe to enable members to support themselves, was a founding member of a society to "promote the progress of science and the useful arts of reading . . . and good moral[s]" in two of the tribes, aided Stockbridges who sought to remove to the West under pressure from white settlers, and later served as a lawyer for the Stockbridge tribe.

Mary (Peters) Doxtater[1] was an extraordinary woman who contributed greatly to her nation, and her story deserves to be more widely known. Yet her life and work remain obscured by the small number of relevant documents and other primary sources available and by conflicts in their contents. No one, for example, has previously connected her to an earlier Stockbridge, Massachusetts, resident, Peter Pohquonnoppeet, who himself was distinguished as a Councilor of the tribe and an early graduate of Dartmouth College. The major purpose of this paper, therefore, is to bring together as much as possible about Mary, to expose the conflicts in the hope that further research will lead to their disentanglement, and to set forth the case linking her to Peter Pohquonnoppeet.

MARY (PETERS) DOXTATER

Initial, personal perspectives on the life of Mary Doxtater come from two documents filed pursuant to the 1898 Court of Claims decision relating to certain Indian land claims and the subsequent Act of Congress. The Court of Claims application from Augustus Wilber notes: *Grandmother on father's side, Elizabeth Wilber nee Doxtator, a Stockbridge.* And from his aunt, Alice Carr: *Mother Elizabeth Wilber, nee Doxtator. Grandmother on mother's side Mary Doxtator, a Stockbridge.*[2] Of Mary's husband, the only clue was this (from the aunt's claim):

Grandfather on mother's side was a Doxtator

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but do not know his first name, an Oneida. The Court of Claims applications also noted that Mary had three children. Besides Elizabeth, there was a daughter, Ann, and a son, Peter, with the latter two having lived in New York State (meaning they had not removed to Wisconsin). According to the 1850 Census for Calumet County, Wisconsin, Elizabeth was born in 1808 in New York State.

Adding to this information is a description of Mary in J. K. Bloomfield's 1907 book *The Oneidas*, a description taken almost verbatim, from Joshua Clark's (1973 [1849]) book on the Onondagas.[3] What these sources report is that Mary was taken as a young girl by Quakers to be educated in "domestic skills" such as knitting and spinning, work that she subsequently put to good use back in New York among the Stockbridge and Onondaga tribes. Intriguingly, an account of transporting the young Indian girls to the Philadelphia area exists—in the diary of Joseph Clark.[4] This Clark was a Quaker who traveled, in October, 1797, to Oneida and Stockbridge with an agreement in hand regarding three Stockbridge girls and two Oneida and two Tuscarora girls.[5] As it happened, the Oneidas declined and Clark could have accommodated more of the Stockbridges. He chose not to add to the agreed-upon number and reports taking six girls with him (Clark 1968:23, 38-39).[6] The girls were dispersed among a number of families; at least for a time, Mary lived in New Garden, Pennsylvania, from which place she expressed a desire to go home in 1800.[7]

Clark's account provides an important clue to Mary's age. He repeatedly describes those taken by him as "girls" and once as "my tender children." He gives no precise information about their ages, but these references, along with descriptions of their behavior at a Quaker meeting (Clark 1968:33, 39), make it likely that they were neither young children nor more than, say, ten to twelve years old. If that were so, Mary would have been born between 1785 and 1787. That she was not any younger than age ten in 1797 can also be inferred from a description of the return of the three girls to New Stockbridge in 1801. A letter to the Quakers from the Stockbridge chiefs, dated at New Stockbridge, October 14, 1801, notes that Joseph Clark arrived "with our three young women, who have been under your benevolent care for a considerable time, whom he conducted through a long journey" (Stockbridge Chiefs 1801).[8] To be considered "young women" four years after their departure, the girls must have been at least ten when they left for Philadelphia.[9]

Interestingly, this episode about Mary's childhood[10] fits well with what we know about the Stockbridge tribe in the late eighteenth century. The Stockbridge had adapted to white culture more than the neighboring Oneidas, both in their more extensive cultivation of land and their more frequent adoption of Christianity. Nonetheless, they still lacked much in the way of material possessions as well as some of the skills needed to live in their adopted fashion. One indication of this is that they did not know how to make cloth. A letter from tribal officer Hendrick Aupaumut and others in 1795 asked for help from the Quakers over precisely this point (Knapp 1834:103). Two years later, Aupaumut was interpreter for Joseph Clark when he came to gather up young Stockbridges for training in Philadelphia (Clark 1968:13).

Details of the years immediately after Mary's return to upstate New York are not clear. A possible mention is in Tuttle's (1984) compilation of pioneer settlers of Madison County, New York. He lists "Mary Doxtater and Peter Doxtater, Oneida Indians," noting that Mary owned a log house on the site of Canastota in 1805 and later a farm in Stockbridge. Mary would have been only about eighteen years old in 1805, and, even if married, she seems to have used her birth name at this time (see below). However, she did later own considerable land in New Stockbridge (Figure 7.1.), and as she married an Oneida (possibly named Peter), perhaps that made her a part of that tribe in the eyes of white observers.[11] Also, Canastota is a few miles west of Oneida (whereas New Stockbridge is to the south), making it more likely that Mary would be mistaken for an Oneida rather than a Mohican.

In any case, Mary was probably not living in Oneida or New Stockbridge in 1805. In that same year, Dorothy Ripley (1819), a religious proselytizer, made an extended visit to these two towns. During her visit to Oneida and the South Settlement (of the so-called Pagans, who were well-connected to the Quakers), there is no mention of Mary, and Ripley relied on an Indian woman named Tally for translating. More tellingly, when Ripley was in Stockbridge, there is no mention of Mary, and an address from five Mohican women to her, which was translated by Hendrick Aupaumut (who had known Mary at least since she went with the Quakers in the 1790s), did not include Mary (Ripley 1819:111).

By 1810, Mary's name begins to appear with increasing frequency and prominence. In that year, Stockbridge women requested Quaker support for a spinning school under "Mary Peters (so called) who is married but has agreed to undertake a spinning school next summer" (Indian Women to Friends 1810). The school was in operation at least by 1812 or 1813.[12] In 1817, Mary (now called Doxtater) was among a group of women who formed the Female Cent Society "to promote the progress of science and the useful arts of reading[,] spinning[,] knitting[,] sewing[,] industry[,] and good morals among the Onondaga and Stockbridge Tribes of Indians" (Articles of Association. . .1817).[13] Interestingly, the document describing the Society reflects a grounding in (white) American history. It is called a Constitution, includes a president, vice-president, and treasurer, as well as an amending procedure, and it includes phrases such as "in order to form [a] perfect union."

MARY'S MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Despite these records, there remains uncertainty about the date of Mary's marriage. If her daughter Elizabeth was born in 1808 (noted above) or earlier,[14] she was presumably married by then. That she was married in 1810 is confirmed by the letter quoted above (Indian Women to Friends 1810). Interestingly, however, references to her in the years through 1815 consistently refer to her as Peters or as Dockstader alias Peters (Frost 1812b; Sergeant 1812, 1815; Pye et al. 1815). It is only after 1815 that all documents (including some signed by Mary) refer to Mary Doxtater: these include a bill of sale from John Thautheeqhoot (1816); the Cent Society document (Articles of Association . . .1817); a letter from Mary to Thomas Eddy (Dockstater 1817); a letter from Hendrick Aupaumut to Thomas Dean (Aupaumut 1820); and numerous documents from the 1820s referring to land transactions and the disposition of her estate (Land records of Madison County, Wampsville, NY; *Journal of the New York State Assembly*, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1828).[15]

Who Mary wed is also unclear, though the fact that she married an Oneida, and a Pagan member specifically (for which we have only Clark's account), is not so surprising. As mentioned, Mary interacted frequently, from a young age, with the Quakers. It is also known that ties between the Quakers and the Indians of upstate New York were particularly strong among the Pagan Party of the Oneidas (Ripley 1819: 80; Pilkington 1980: 331, 364, 373; Densmore 1992: 85). It takes little imagination to suppose that Quakers somehow played a role in bringing Mary together with the Oneida Pagans.[16]

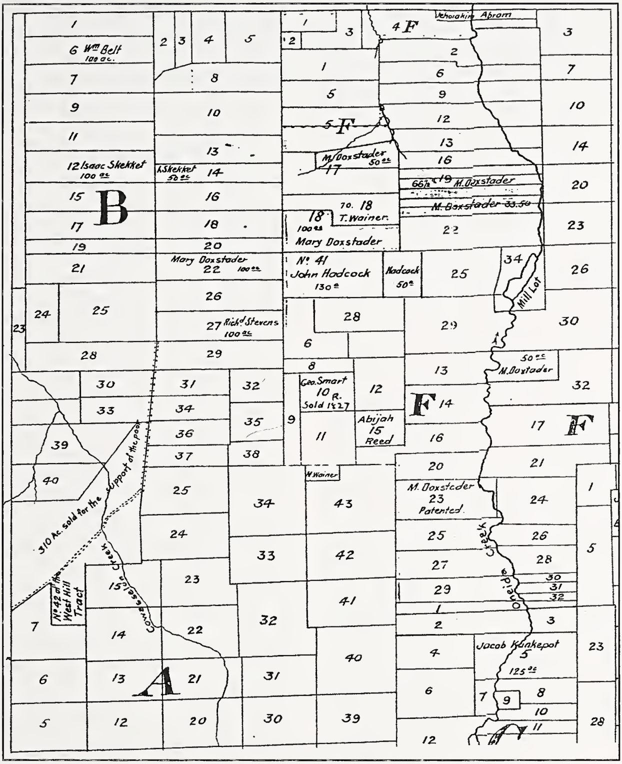
Intriguingly, there is a piece of evidence (besides Tuttle's listing) suggesting that Mary's husband was a Peter Doxtator. This comes from an interview conducted by Lyman Draper at the Oneida Reservation in Wisconsin in 1877. In an interview, Mrs. Jacob Doxtator reported that Peter Doxtator "married a Stockbridge woman—all can tell about him, as he went and lived thereafter with the Stockbridges" (Draper 1877). This was supposedly a reference to one of the sons of Honyery Doxtator.[17] The problem is that there were multiple Peter Doxtators, and evidence from various sources seems to rule out all of them as the man in question. The most likely (by age, anyway), was reportedly born in 1787, perhaps the same year as Mary. However, he lived until 1875 and, in any case, married a woman named Lucretia Calvin.[18] There are also various other Oneidas named Peter; for example, there was a "Sachem Peter" listed in the Pickering (1792:97, 75, 83A) papers, but there was no other information about him (unless this was Pagan Peter, the head Pagan warrior described in a number of entries in Kirkland's journal) (Pilkington 1980).

It is also unclear just how many children Mary had. Multiple records identify Ann, Elizabeth, and Peter. As noted at the outset, there is the Court of Claims document of her granddaughter. More compelling is a petition from her estate asking, among other things, that Thomas Dean "be Authorized to divide such remainders equally between the three children (Petition of the Estate of Mary Doxstader. . .1828). The petition is signed, individually, by Ann Doxsta[last letters unreadable], Elizabeth S. Doxtater, and Peter Dockstadter. That would seem to be conclusive. Yet there is also an entry in the *Journal of the New York State Assembly* (1824, Jan. 23) referencing a petition from Mary which states that "she had placed three daughters and one son, at school; and that two younger children were to be placed at school, as soon as their age would permit."

MARY'S ROLE IN THE STOCKBRIDGE TRIBE

Mary's role in the life of the tribe also contains some unknowns, though it is clear she played a prominent role. Her role in starting spinning schools has been noted. But her work went well beyond that. In January, 1824, a document signed by eleven Stockbridges appointed her "as our Lawful Attorney to see too & do all business relative to ourselves & Nation as she the said Mary deemeth right . . ." (Principal Men of New Stockbridge 1824). Again in January, 1825, twelve men and women of the Mohican tribe, including Hendrick Aupaumut and John Metoxen, signed a document in which they affirmed "hereby by these presents, for divers good deeds heretofore done and shown by the bearer Mary Doxstador one of our said Nation afforesaid, to be our Lawfull Attorney to go to Albany, to assist John W. Quinney, Solomon U. Hendrick, Jacob P. Seth, John Metoxen in transacting our business relative to our Nation, with the Legislature of the State of New York, the Commissioners of the Land Office thereof, etc" (Inhabitants of New Stockbridge 1825).

On her own and for others in the tribe, Mary was heavily involved in land transactions. Gifford's map of New Stockbridge from 1823 (Figure11.1.) lists her name on eight different plots totaling about 600 acres.[19] Land records in the Madison county seat of Wampsville show that in 1824 and 1825 she sold a number of these plots. The exact nature of the transactions is not clear. According to a petition made to the state legislature after her death, "she has advanced large Sums to help many of her Nation to remove to Green Bay by purchasing parts and parcels of their Land which was [so?] situated by the late survey of Peleg Gifford [i.e., the 1823 map]" (Petition of the Estate of Mary Doxstader . . . 1828).[20] On the other hand, an 1828 letter from a number of Stockbridges then in Statesburgh (Kaukauna), Wisconsin, to Thomas Dean, placed a claim on Mary's estate, saying that she sold land and had not turned the money over to the rightful owners (Ten Women 1828). Finally, another petition noted that Mary left little personal property, but that "her real estate consisted of about four hundred and eighty nine acres of land in detached pieces[,] the title to some of which was confirmed to her by special acts of


Jehoiakim Abrom
4F
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B
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6 Wm Belt 100 ac.
12 Isaac Shekket 100 ac
I. Shekket 50 ac
M. Doxstader 50 ac
17
66⅔ 19 M. Doxstader
M. Doxstader 33.50
70. 18 T. Wainer
18 100 ac
Mary Doxstader
Mary Doxstader 22 100 ac
No 41 John Hadcock 130 ac
Hadcock 50 ac
34 Mill Lot
27 Richd Stevens 100 ac
50 ac M. Doxtader
Geo. Smart 10 R. Sold 1827
Abijah 15 Reed
H. Wainer
M. Doxstader 23 Patented.
Oneida Creek
Jacob Konkepot 5 125 ac
310 Ac. sold for the support of the poor
Cowassalon Creek
No 42 of the West Hill Tract

Figure 11.1. Detail from a map of New Stockbridge prepared by Peleg Gifford in December,1823, identifies some of the land holdings of Mary Doxstader (Doxtater). The New Stockbridge tract had been divided into lots. (Map at New York State Archives, Surveyor General Map Series, AO 273, No. 263.)

the Legislature and patents granted to her, some she possessed as her paternal inheritance and some she had purchased of other Indians of the Stockbridge tribe and acquired title by the acts of the councils of the tribe" (Petition of Thomas Dean and Samuel Dakin . . .1830). In any event, because of limitations placed on the sale of the land, it took acts of the state legislature and the passage of at least two years after her death to deal with her estate.

MARY'S CHARACTER

A final, more personal picture of Mary comes from various documents. She is said to have been "of good moral character & . . . a sincere Christian" (Certificate . . . 1821). In another document she is said to be "a pattern to us in all the various branches, of feminine duty . . . a parent constantly overseeing & guiding us; & seems to have pure desires for our true Interest (Ten Indians 1822). In another, it is said that "she has been friendly to the people of her Nation and frequently given orders for medical attendance upon her suffering neighbors."[21] We also have a description from Thomas Shillitoe that, while not mentioning her by name, is almost certainly a description of both Mary and her house (see note 8). He notes that his host "appeared to possess powers of mind equal to most worldly transactions" and describes the house as "this hospitable Indian mansion, a name it fitly deserves, when compared with most other Indian huts." After her death, it was said that "she has further for a great length of time supported a great number of the poor and indigent of her Nation, making her house at all times their home in times of need or distress, and in cases of National councils, and meetings of the Superintendents or business relating to her Nation, she has made her house free at a great expense" (Petition of the Estate of Mary Doxstader . . . 1828).

Having worked tirelessly for her people, Mary died sometime between the visit from Shillitoe in December, 1826, and the entry of a petition (in the NY State Assembly) regarding her estate in January, 1828 (Petition of the Estate of Mary Doxstader. . . 1828).

PETER POHQUONNOPPEET[22]

The story of Peter Pohquonnoppeet—whose last name was pronounced Ponknepeet, according to Electa Jones (1854)—is important for reasons that will be clear below. His story can be much briefer than Mary's because of his short life and because there are fewer documents pertaining to him. His biographical details are straightforward. Peter, a Mohican, was reportedly born about 1758 in Stockbridge, Massachusetts (Richards 1858). He was the son of a man with the same name who had been a church deacon (Love 2000[1899], 238).[23] The younger Peter was at Moor's Charity School (the precursor of Dartmouth College) in 1771, presumably having just arrived in that year, one of a small number of youths there (M'Clure and Parish 1972 [1811]:62).[24]

Of his years at Dartmouth, relatively little is known, though records kept by the College tell us that in some respects student life was not all that different from today. One such document, from 1773, is a letter from four students to the president, Eleazer Wheelock, complaining about their inability to study because of noise in the dormitory (McCallum 1932). Another, dated 1775, from more than a dozen students to the Tutor of the College, is about what they evidently perceived as an excessive amount of work: "We . . . desire and petition that a part of our Lessons may be taken off for the present till we are able to get them without impairing our health" (Brigham et al. 1775). In his senior year, Peter earned the appellation "Sir Peter," a prefix customarily given to seniors at the time (Chapman 1867:29).

That Peter graduated from Dartmouth in 1780 is confirmed by the Dartmouth College alumni office. He moved back to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, teaching school there and becoming a deacon in the Congregational Church (Richards 1858).[25] During the 1780s, Peter, Hendrick Aupaumut, and John Konkapot served as councilors to the Mohican tribe (Love 2000, 238-39). Around 1789, according to Chapman (1867), he emigrated to New Stockbridge, New York, where he died not long after his arrival.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF PETER'S DEATH

Two things make Sir Peter's life interesting: the circumstances of his death and his probable connection to Mary Doxtater. In several documents, it is asserted, with varying degrees of certitude, that Peter was poisoned as a result of factional disputes within the tribe. In a recent volume, for example, Calloway (1995:106) reports that Peter "seems to have been poisoned." Earlier, Brasser (1974:41) says straightforwardly that Peter was poisoned. Insofar as this writer can tell, there is no certain evidence of his having been poisoned.

The references cited by these two historians do not contain any direct evidence. Both refer to page 222 in McCallum (1932), but that page simply cites a sketch of Dartmouth graduates that, in turn, quotes a letter by Levi Konkapot, Jr. about the matter. Calloway also cites certain pages of Pickering's letters and papers; the pages cited note that there was conflict within the tribe, but they say nothing about poisoning. Brasser's other source is an article from 1968, and it only tells about the existence of internal conflicts, drawing mostly on Belknap and Morse (1794). As for the letter from Konkapot, it was written about 1858, almost seventy years after Sir Peter's death, and Konkapot himself says that "the oldest persons now left of our people have seen him, [but] they say that they were small children at the time of his death" (Richards 1858). Konkapot is not even certain of the date of Peter's death or of his age when he died.[26]

We can actually fix Sir Peter's death quite closely. The diary of Samson Occom contains a number of references to Peter throughout 1786 and 1787, and a document signed by Peter and others for a money-raising tour is dated November 1787 (Love 2000:271-76). Blodgett (1935:199), relying on Occom's diary, says that Peter and others were in New York, heading home from the tour, on March 14, 1788. According to Love (2000:281), Peter was involved in controversy over Occom's ministry as late as the end of July, 1789. A little over a year later, Samuel Kirkland concludes his entry for September 20, 1790, with the following:

> Spoke particularly with the widdow of the late Peter Poghkwauhauput[27] who appeared to be very disconsolate. I inquired of her welfare & fatherless Children, & if she was confortably provided for. She replied, with the tears trickling down her cheeks, "that God had given her *some corn & some beans*; but she wanted something very much." I asked what it was. She replied, "when you pray to God, remember me, my Soul! & my children. That is all I want now. I thank you I hear Gods word today. I want very much to walk with God every day long as I live." This woman appears to exemplify the meek, patient, humble & forgiving spirit of the gospel. And sustains, so far as I can learn, a most amiable & uniformly unblemish'd character (Pilkington 1980:204).

The tone of the letter suggests that Peter had died recently.[28]Poisoned or not, Sir Peter had an early death.

PETER'S CONNECTION TO MARY DOXTATER

As noted, a second interesting thing about Sir Peter is his probable connection to Mary Doxtater. To make this connection, we note that in the years just before his death, Peter had established a favorable association with the Quakers. In an effort to raise money to support the ministry of Samson Occom at Brothertown and New Stockbridge, Occom, along with David Fowler and Sir Peter, went on a tour to New Jersey, New York, and Philadelphia, spending a month in Philadelphia (Love 2000:275-77; Blodgett 1935:198-99). They were not particularly successful. Nonetheless, they did find some support from the Quakers. Occom wrote in his diary on February 22, 1788:

> We were now getting ready to leave the City, and it was hard work to take leave of the People that have been so kind to us Since we have been here. The Quakers in particular were exceeding kind to us and Freely communicated their Substance to help our People in the Wilderness. Two Schools communicated Some thing to our children in the Wilderness (Blodgett 1935:199).

On that same day, the three travelers composed a thank you letter, to be sent from Philadelphia, that read in part:

> *. . .praise be unto God, for his goodness and mercy to us, that he has inclind and opend the Hearts, and Hands of his good People in this great City, to take Freindly Notice of us, to receive us in to their Houses, and to treat us with all tenderness and kindness . . . We return thanks to the Freinds, we give thanks to every one that have shown any Favour to us — We give thanks to the Little Masters who have Collected for our Little Boys in the Wilderness — We give thanks to the Young Ladies, that have Collected for our little Daughters in the woods. . . . (Occom et al. 1788).*

The letter contains a P.S.: "if you think it proper you may read the above [at] your meeting." Given this association, it would not be surprising if someone connected to Sir Peter developed ties to the Quakers. But how, since Peter died only a few years after the trip—before the Quakers began their involvement with the Oneida, Stockbridge, and Brotherton Indians? One connection, at least, could have been through Hendrick Aupaumut. Captain Hendrick, as he was often called, had ties both to Sir Peter and to the Quakers. Of the connection to Peter, there is ample evidence. Occom's diary relates a number of instances in which the two were in close proximity or clearly with each other (see, especially, Love 2000: 268). Moreover, Sir Peter and Captain Hendrick sided with one another on the conflict over the ministry at New Stockbridge.[29]

Aupaumut's connections with the Quakers are clear. His 1795 letter asking for their help has been noted,[30] as well as his role as interpreter for the Quaker Joseph Clark on Clark's mission to take Indian girls back to Philadelphia. Aupaumut's having sided with Occom may also have strengthened these connections after the appointment of Quakers as two of the three Superintendents for the Brotherton Indians who lived near New Stockbridge in 1796, and of another Quaker as teacher in 1798 (Densmore 1992:85).

The importance of these connections becomes clear with the discovery of what for us is the single most important entry in Occom's diary. On Saturday, August 4, 1787, Occom notes that he went to New Stockbridge, spending the night at Sir Peter's. On the next day, Sunday, he writes, in part: "Baptized 2 Children one for Sir Peter by the name Mary" (Love 2000:268). Recall the speculation that Mary was born about 1787, given her probable age when she went off with the Quakers. Now, it would appear, Hendrick Aupaumut, collaborator with Sir Peter, may have been instrumental in arranging for Peter's daughter to be educated among the Quakers.

But what of the last name, Peters? It was not unusual at this time for Christian Indians to take on their father's first name as their last (Dunn 2000:271). We have the well-known case of Hendrick Aupaumut himself; he had at least three children who took the last name, Hendrick (Dunn 2000:286). We also have the example of Jacob Davids. According to an obituary written at the time of Davids' death in 1857, Levi Konkapot Jr. (c.1858) says that Davids' grandfather was David Nee-soon-uh-uk.[31] Thus, it seems not at all unlikely that Peter Pohquonnoppeett's daughter became Mary Peters.

Final, small pieces of evidence are more consistent with than confirmatory of this family connection. One comes from a letter from Charles Willits (1820). He notes that "Mary from Stockbridge and her step Father has gone to On[?] in order to stay this season."[32] The mention of a step-father obviously indicates that her mother had remarried, either due to a divorce or, more probably, the death of Mary's biological father. The other suggestive evidence is that Mary named one of her children Elizabeth, the name of Sir Peter's widow and, presumably, her own mother.

CONCLUSION

There remain a number of gaps and inconsistencies in our knowledge of Mary (Peters) Doxtater. At the same time, much has been discovered that was long buried and previously unintegrated. Mary was a remarkable woman, for her manner, her education, and her service to her nation. Peter Pohquonnoppeet, despite his short life, also achieved a good deal. Their stories are individually well worth telling. That the two are evidently interconnected as father and daughter makes the story even more noteworthy.

END NOTES

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[1] Mary herself used this spelling (e.g., Articles of Association 1817), though her close acquaintance Hendrick Aupaumut (1820) and some others spelled her name Doxtator (or still otherwise). Later references to Oneida and Stockbridge Indians with this name generally use the spelling Doxtator.

[2] The author's lineage from John and Elizabeth (Doxtator) Wilber is documented in Niemi (2001). John Wilber was a white man; his ancestry is unknown.

[3] Where Clark obtained his information about Mary Doxtater is unclear, though in his preface he thanks a large number of individuals who contributed first-hand information to his work.

[4] There is more than one original copy of the Clark diary. I rely most on the version published in 1968 [1797]. A second version (1831) agrees on the main points.

[5] In a letter written from Philadelphia in 1797, the Quakers wrote that "We understand that you are desirous a few of your Girls should be placed in the Families of our Friends and be taught what our Daughters are, We rejoice at it, and are willing to take three of them, Henry Simmons has offered to come for them, and our Friend Joseph Clark has agreed to be his Companion and assist in bringing them safe down. . ." (Associated Executive Committee. . .1797).

[6] Another Quaker report says that there were three Stockbridge girls along with two Tuscarora girls and two young Tuscarora men ("Report of the Indian Committee" 1798, 166).

[7] In a letter sent to David Bacon (of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee) in 1800, she wrote: ". . . dont want to stay another year, I think I have learned enough, every thing necessary, I cant learn any more if I stay so long. . .(Peters 1800). A year later, the Indian Committee in Philadelphia wrote, agreeing to escort all three young Stockbridges back to their homes: "Brothers, The three young women Mary Peters, Elizabeth Baldwin, and Margaret Jacobs, who came from you and have been under our care for a considerable time past, have expressed a desire to return to you and their friends, to which we have consented. . ." (Associated Executive Committee. . .1801). Originally, the girls were expected to remain with the Quakers until they were 18 years old (Associated Executive Committee. . .1797).

[8] Likewise, a reference by Thomas Shillitoe (1839:365) notes that "she had been partly brought up by a Friend (in the neighborhood) of Philadelphia, but after she grew to woman's estate, returned into the settlement of her ancestors, and resumed the Indian dress and manners. . . ." Shillitoe does not actually name the woman he described. However, there are good reasons to believe that it was Mary Doxtater. The description of her house as being well kept up is consistent with Clark's description (written in 1850). (Though possible, it seems unlikely that Clark drew on Shillitoe's obscure journal for his description.) The description of her capabilities is consistent with her having been appointed as the tribe's attorney. And, of course, noting that she was trained in Philadelphia and that she had a family is consistent with what we know about Mary. Finally, the fact that Shillitoe describes her as having "ample means" is consistent with her having had considerable land (though she also owed a considerable amount to creditors, as we note below).

[9] This inference is also consistent with her having given birth to Elizabeth in 1808.

[10] Another possible fact about Mary's birth family is that she had a brother, Jacob. A document written after her death notes that "Mary promised to send money by her brother Jacob but did not" (Ten Women 1828). There is a question about whose brother is being referred to, but a Jacob Peters is listed in the Stockbridge Indian Company of 1813 (Reed 1820). See also note 28.

[11] Tuttle did not list the source of this information.

[12] Plans were clearly underway in late spring, 1812 (Frost 1812a; Sergeant 1812). In 1815, Sergeant (1815) notes that Mary "has carried on the business for two years past."

[13] Cent societies, often associated with the Congregationalist church, were so-named because dues was typically a cent (here two cents) a meeting (Harold F. Worthley, Librarian, The Congregational Library, personal communication). According to Densmore (1992:87), Mary moved to Onondoga in 1817, staying there until 1822.

[14] A "Petition of the Estate of Mary Doxstader to the State of New York" (1828) mentions Ann, Elizabeth, and Peter as heirs, noting that one of them is a minor, meaning less than 21. ("There is a distinction existing in the Surrogate's court, between an infant and a minor. An infant is so denominated when under fourteen years of age, and a minor when over fourteen and under twenty-one years of age" [Office of Surrogate… 1825]). This means that the minor was born between 1807 and 1814 and the other two in 1806 or earlier.

[15] That she switched to her married name is especially interesting if Clark is correct that her husband died about this time. Clark (1973:240) says that she started a school for the Oneidas after her husband died. I have found no other reference to Mary having started a school for the Oneidas, though it is clear that some Oneida women had learned to make cloth (Letter to various Friends 1817]).

[16] Why would Mary, described elsewhere as a "sincere Christian" (Certificate… 1821), marry a Pagan? The Pagan Party changed a good deal in the early 1800s, adopting a number of Christian habits including observance of the Christian sabbath, making the gap between the Pagans and Christians less than the names imply (Hauptman 1999: 52-53).

[17] The Doxtator name pervades Oneida history. Some parts of the family history are well known. Others are shrouded in mystery due to lack written records, multiple generations with the same name, and so on. A partial story of the Indian Doxtators is contained in Rooney (1984). Riddle (see note 16) notes alternative interpretations of some of the early history of this line.

[18] Angelia Doxtator Riddle, a contemporary Oneida family researcher, has an extensive family tree of the Indian Doxtators. It includes information on several Peter Doxtators and tries to sort out their relationship to other Doxtators. This tree contains the information about the Peter who married Lucretia Calvin.

[19] Land patents from 1824 and 1828 exist for 500 acres in New Stockbridge (Letters Patent to Mary Doxstader, dated 23 Feb., 1824; 16 Nov., 1824; 23 Dec. 1824, all in Book 28 of Patents, pp. 209, 342, 353, respectively, and 15 Jan., 1828, Book 28, p. 623, Albany, New York State Bureau of Land Management).

[20] This is all the more interesting because she was said to have strongly opposed the tribe's plan to sell its land and move to the west: "They [most of the women of the tribe] are desirous of becoming civilized & christenized & this they think is in a fair way to be done where they are. That if they sell this land, & remove into the wilderness, they fear that they will remain savages forever" (Butler 1818).

[21] The source is Certificate… (1821), but the lines quoted are from an attachment in 1823.

[22] There are many spellings of Peter's last name (Love 2000:238), including multiple spellings in his own hand on various documents preserved at Dartmouth College.

[23] Deacon Peter, as the father was called, is frequently mentioned in the "Town Meetings, Births, Deaths, Marriages, 1737-1759" and, between 1750 and 1766, in the "Indian Proprietors Records – 1749-1790" of the town of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Other of his land transactions are noted in Dunn (2000:362) and Wright (1905). Records of the Congregational Church in Stockbridge note that he was a deacon of the church from about 1738 to about 1770.

[24] The ages of the children given by McCallum (1932:16) are consistent with Peter having been born about 1758.

[25] In the Indian Proprietors Records (May 28, 1781) at Stockbridge, there is a notation "Voted that whereas James Cush have given up all his Right and Title to the fifty acres of Land Granted to his father James Cush Deceased be Granted to Peter Pohquonappeet to enable him to further to presents(?) His Studies in order to Qualify him to be more usefull to the Indians."

[26] For what it is worth, Konkapot says that Sir Peter was leader of a band in opposition to Hendrick Aupaumut. For his part (at least in a letter of March 21, 1796), Aupaumut mentions John Konkapot (and his brothers) as a source of problems (Pickering 1792-97:244). It

should be noted that Samuel Kirkland makes no mention of a poisoning in his journals.

[27] One of the alternative spellings of Peter's last name, as given by Love, is very similar: "Pohquannopput."

[28] Two years later, the widow, Elisabeth, petitioned for compensation due Sir Peter for his service as schoolmaster (Petition of Elisabeth Pohquunnauput…1792). In the petition she mentions having three little children.

[29] In July, 1789, after it was decided that individuals should be free to choose between the two ministers, some who had been early supporters of Occom went over to John Sergeant, but Sir Peter and Aupaumut remained on the side of Occom (Love 2000:281).

[30] This letter was a follow-up to a visit by at least two Quakers, Thomas Eddy and John Murray, Jr., to New Stockbridge and Brothertown (Knapp 1834:104-06).

[31] Konkapot does not give the name of Jacob Davids' father. However, there was likely more than one David Nee-soon-uh-uk, and both father and grandfather may have had the same name (as occurred in other families such as with Sir Peter and some of the seventeenth century Doxtators).

[32] Shillitoe (1838:365), after describing what I presumed to be Mary's house, where he stayed the night, mentions that he was accompanied to Oneida by "his kind landlady [and] her step-father."

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CHAPTER 12

THE DIVINITY OF EAGLES

Tom R. Lake (2004)
Photographs by the author.

The sight of a bald eagle (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*) soaring on flat wings with an eight-foot span has once again become a welcome event along Hudson River tidewater. The possibility of seeing a golden eagle exists as well. This phenomenon fits perfectly into the context of an Algonquian Peoples conference: recovery of New York's eagles is occurring within the ancestral homeland of the Algonquian people. For the eagles, which the Algonquians revered, it is likely that there hasn't been this combination of a free-ranging presence, with human respect for that presence, since the arrival of Western philosophy and world view in the seventeenth century. In the many years since, raptors of all kinds have suffered from a variety of insults that have decimated their populations. The relationship that eagles and other raptors shared with Native Peoples has been forgotten. Their approach was one of inclusion, of seeing birds as kindred souls, and of an approach to life that was intuitively logical, but contrary to the way we live today.

RECOVERY

In 1997, a bald eagle nest in Greene County produced a Hudson Valley eaglet for the first time in 100 years. In 2004 there are eight nests, all producing young. Forty-seven eaglets have been produced in eight years, all under the vigilant eyes of wildlife managers. Including the adult pairs, there is now a New York resident population in excess of sixty birds. The golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*) is also native to the Northeast, though not as common as the bald eagle. Goldens tend to be birds of upland and inland regions and consequently are less commonly seen along a major waterway like the Hudson River.

Unfortunately, the threat to raptors that began in the seventeenth century has not gone away, it is just in remission. During most of the twentieth century, particularly the latter half of it, the Hudson Valley was almost devoid of its largest raptor except for a few wintering birds, and even those had nearly disappeared by 1960. The pesticide DDT played a major role in their decline, which followed decades of habitat destruction and wanton killing. An 1897 *New York Times* article proclaimed that "eagles will soon become a regular pest in the [Hudson] Highlands if something is not done to exterminate them" (*New York Times*, September 7, 1897). The same article mentioned an "old eagle" living across the river from West Point that was "said to have been a native of the place during the [American] Revolution." That would have made that particular bird 120 years old. Ironically, 1897 was the last year the tidewater Hudson Valley produced an eaglet

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(from a nest near West Point) for 100 years.

The ban on DDT in 1972, as well as the effects of protective legislation such as the Bald Eagle Act of 1940 and the Endangered Species Act of 1973, have strongly protected eagles and their habitats. The bald eagle was downlisted nationally from "Endangered" to "Threatened" in 1995, and it has been proposed for complete de-listing in the near future. De-listing will transfer the eagles' protection from the federal government to the individual states. As New York's waters provide an international refuge for birds of prey, this is a serious responsibility. Each year, from December to March, our resident eagle population is joined on Hudson tidewaters by wintering birds from Ontario, Québec, and eastern Canada. These birds migrate south looking for consistently open water where they can catch fish and waterfowl, and lounge around until winter ends. In February of 2004, there were no fewer than 150 eagles along the river from Catskill to Manhattan. Above Catskill the river was locked in ice.

EAGLE MAGIC

What was it about eagles that struck a spiritual chord with Native People? Spectacular flight was a consideration. In late winter eagle hormones begin to percolate and there is love in the air. Bald eagle courtship is performed by a breeding pair in the weeks before the spring nesting season. Many people have tried to use simple words to describe this behavior, with little success. It includes an aerial dance of grace and symmetry, wing-touches, locking talons, free-falls, and other exquisite acts of mutual commitment. Some call this performance "sky dancing." Once, at Verplanck in Westchester County, a company of people watched a courtship display out over the river in a snow squall. When through a small break in the clouds came a shaft of sunlight, the eagle pair appeared to be dancing on a sunbeam.

On a Valentine's Day dawn another pair of adult bald eagles flew upriver. With the new sun striking their radiant white heads and tails, they appeared to glow. They flew so close to each other that they cast only one shadow, drifting across the face of a limestone escarpment. They shadowed each other over the ice with loop-de-loops and wing-touches. At the climax of each acrobatic move they would fall away only to meet again at the apex of a long loop in the sky. It was a ballet: A synchronized flight followed—flap-flap-glide—as both would wheel and bank away in perfect form. They flew along the western shore and the sun projected their larger-than-life shadow onto the sheer cliff face. One eagle would turn on its back in the air; the second would mirror it from above. They would clutch talons, and then together fall for a hundred feet before finally flaring out over the ice. Two separate sets of effortless yet powerful wing beats moved them through the air as a single bird. They were communicating through an ancient instinct.

When the First People entered the Northeast, about 12,000 years ago, the bald eagle probably was accepted as a kindred soul, a part of the ecological community of the Hudson Valley. Eagles were respected for their remarkable vision (hence the saying "eagle eye,") and their absolute efficiency, as they dropped from the sky to grab a fish from the water. They were admired for the power with which they moved through the air, the attention they provided to their young, and the fidelity they demonstrated for their mates; a pair mates for life. In addition, their high flight into the clouds suggested the flight of spirits which the natives believed inhabited all living things.

In the wake of the arrival of Europeans in the seventeenth century, however, that respect would change. On September 11, 1609, Henry Hudson in a Dutch ship dropped anchor off the southern tip of Manhattan; the Algonquian world and its eagles now faced great change. For nearly 400 years the eagle would find its world shrinking as eagles were destroyed as pests, forests disappeared, European-style agriculture spread, and fish populations dropped.

HUDSON VALLEY EAGLES —HUDSON VALLEY PEOPLE

There is evidence (Nye 2004) that both resident and wintering bald eagles chose certain perching, roosting, wintering, and breeding locations along the Hudson River for geographic reasons long before some of those same locations were selected for modern power generating facilities. Among these spots is Danskammer Point in Orange County, a peninsula situated seventy-eight miles north of the Narrows. The early seventeenth-century Dutch name given to the point, "*danskamer*," translates as "dance chamber." The name came about because Indians were observed having ritual dances there (Lossing 1866:196). Probably some of the dances expressed a reverence for the eagles at the roosting area. Artifacts excavated at the Danskammer in 1940 are dated from about 5,500 BC to 1500 AD, suggesting seven thousand years of human occupation or use. The artifact assemblage closely matches items found at the Bowdoin Park archaeological sites, in the Town of Poughkeepsie, two miles north and across the river. Ethnographic accounts indicate that at the time European explorers arrived, occupants of the area were Munsees (Goddard 1971; Bierhorst 1995).

The powers of the eagle were associated with native medicine men. It was widely believed in the Hudson Valley and New England that a shaman could make a spatial, temporal and spiritual transformation. This echoes a Mohawk belief that "The feathers of the spotted eagle [immature Bald Eagle] bring the medicine of Grandfather, because that bird flies higher in the Sky and hence can see farther than any other" (Distant Eagle, personal communication.). A tradition of Munsee origin related that the people sprang from a great eagle, which always hovered over them. When the eagle was pleased, it descended and dropped a feather, when displeased, it rose into the clouds and spoke in thunder. The feather made the wearer invisible and invulnerable (Bierhorst 1995). In contemporary times, prior to the 1950s construction of a power generating facility, Danskammer Point remained a wintering location for bald eagles, providing both day perches and night roosts. Even today, you can walk under these trees on some days in winter and an eagle feather might flutter to earth near you or land on your shoulder (Tuck 1971:213) (Figure 12.1.).

Traditions connected with the eagle elsewhere in North America may date back to the arrival of humans on this continent, as deification of the eagle was widespread. The following are a few examples, from several cultural areas, in which the eagle personifies a spiritual presence.

MIDWEST

For the Winnebago, the Earthmaker created spirits, Thunderbirds, and then Eagles, to serve as clans. In a Clan Ceremony, tobacco is offered to Grandmother Earth. It is then offered to a pair of eagles through whom they pray to their ancestors to "ward off trouble" (Tooker: 225-226).

PLAINS INDIANS

The Dakota have an Origin Story that is reminiscent of Noah. A great flood destroyed all nations on earth. The remaining Indian tribes assembled on a plateau to escape the water. Yet the water continued to rise until it covered them all. While they were drowning, a young woman caught hold of the foot of a very large bird [a golden eagle] that was flying over and was carried to the top of a high cliff above the water. Here she gave birth to twins. Their father was War-Eagle, and her children have since populated the earth (Johnson 1891:214-215). The physical representation of a golden eagle is often found in association with a belief in immortality.

In the Lakota Ghost Dance, in a departure from the usual male-oriented display of feathers, every woman had a white eagle feather

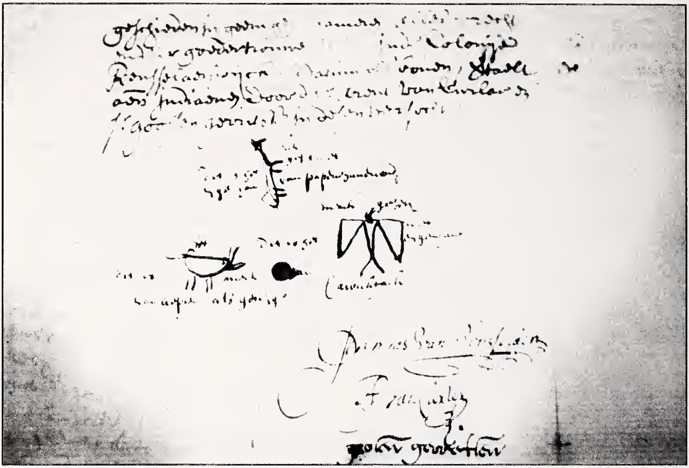

Figure 12.1. Page two of a deed of September 29, 1663, records a purchase by Jan Hendricksen Bruyn and Claes Van Bockhoven of Hapamewasick Island (near present Menands) in the Colony of Rensselaerswyck. The Mohican sellers were Passenehennewau, acting on behalf of his mother, Etawachah, and Cawichtack, apparently a shaman, who drew a Thunderbird as his pictographic signature. Thunderbird symbols appeared on deeds, as artifacts, and on rock art in the Hudson Valley and New England. Aepjen, who signed as witness, was the Mohican chief sachem. (Rensselaerswyck Indian Deeds 1650-1734, EL 670. No. 5, Albany Institute of History and Art Library.)

tied to her hair (Johnson 1891:172). In Lakota tradition, the golden eagle (*Wanbli gleshka)* can become the physical embodiment of the Thunder Being *(Wakinyan waka).* Therefore, eagle feathers were considered sacred and were thought to be protective. Crazy Horse, a Lakota warrior and chief, kept his medicine stone wrapped in eagle down, and then secured the bundle in a small medicine pouch. Other birds also could be considered sacred. Among the Lakota, the Common Crow was the sacred bird of the outlawed late nineteenth-century Ghost Dance. Its image appears on many Ghost Dance shirts and dresses, along with those of eagles. The golden eagle was symbolic of spiritual power for many Plains Indians and its image was used on their clothing in the belief that it would make the wearer impervious to the bullets of the U.S. Cavalry.

For example, Short Bull, a Brulé Lakota Medicine Man; along with Kicking Bear, was the principal leader of the Ghost Dance religion among the Indians at Pine Ridge and Standing Rock Agencies. After the death of Sitting Bull and the infamous massacre at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890, Short Bull was to be sent to serve a prison term at Ft. Sheridan, near Chicago. When Federal troops

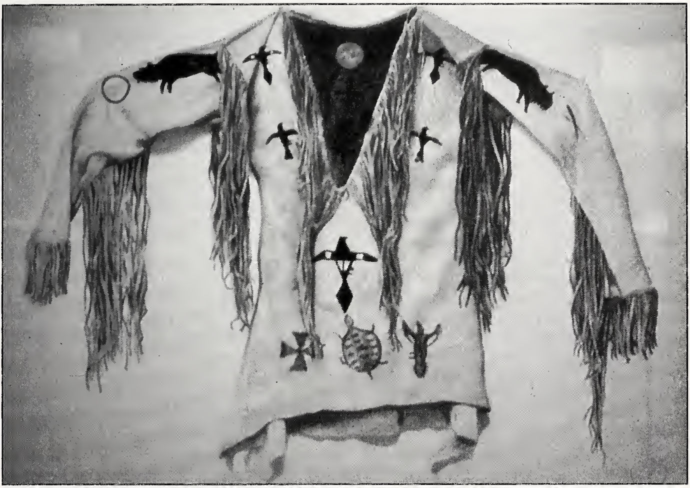

Figure 12.2. Lakota Ghost Dance Shirt (man's).

announced that they were going to arrest Short Bull, his followers declared that they would fight to defend him. They said that as soon as the fight began a hailstorm would kill the white soldiers. The Indians said they had shirts that were bullet-proof (Johnson 1891:399-400).

Participants in the Ghost Dance dress of the Southern Arapaho around 1890 wore ravens and eagles painted on doeskin (Figure 12. 2.). These images they believed would protect them. Southern Paiute Indians captured and raised immature eagles for a year, removing some primary feathers for ceremony and ritual. After the eagle's next moult, when the feathers were replaced, the birds were released (Cornett 2000:33-34).

PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Tsimshian mythology describes eagles as an intermediary between gods and humans (Andriolo 1994). So-called "totem" poles of tribes of the Pacific Northwest, such as the Kwakiutl, also frequently depicted Bald Eagles. These were tributes to lineages and clans rather than gods, recalling both mythical and historic events. The birds were remembered for their special talents and the stories they told. The bald eagle, raven, and other likenesses can represent characters in history and legend (Kehoe 1992:462). In the Kwakiutl Eagle Dance, the "Kulus" is a juvenile Thunderbird, depicted as an eagle. When eagles walk, they hop, holding their wings out-stretched for balance. This is a movement that is replicated during the Eagle Dance.

WEST COAST

The hunting and gathering Ohlone of California followed an ancient subsistence pattern, eating a broad spectrum of foods, including many animal species. Among the very few that they would not eat were eagles, ravens, owls, frogs, and vultures. These were taboo—the eagle, raven, frog, and owl for spiritual reasons, the vulture for reasons of common sense (Margolin 1978: 24). Tufts of eagle feathers adorned Ohlone sweat lodges (Margolin 1978: 30). In the Ohlone "Sacred Time" creation story, following a great flood that covered the earth, there was but one small area of dry land, where only one living creature stood, a coyote. The coyote saw a feather floating in the water, touched it, and the feather became an eagle. When joined by the hummingbird, these three created the world of humans (Margolin 1978: 134).

SOUTHWEST

A thousand years ago ancestral Puebloans (also called Anasazi) buried a shaman wrapped in a blanket of eagle feathers in Mummy Cave, at Canyon del Muerto in Canyon de Chelly, Arizona. In southern Utah, a related group of ancestral Puebloans created a sash made of scarlet macaw feathers from Mexico, wrapped around yucca fibers. In the center of the sash, was the image of an eagle, created solely from blue macaw feathers. When worn the sash would have become animated by the wearer's movements, streaming and twirling—representing an eagle in flight in a field of blue. The sash was found in a dry cave and radio-carbon dated to AD 1030 (Williams 2001:131-132). In the bottom of the Grand Canyon, a thousand years ago, ancestral Puebloans recorded in petroglyphs their awe of the eagle's fishing prowess.

In a Zuñi origin story, the ancient Father of Sacred Bands protected his People with six warriors, called the prey gods: There was one for each of the four cardinal directions, one for the world below, and one for the sky above. The latter was the Bald Eagle, also known as the White Warrior (Cushing 1883:15). To the eagle the Father of Sacred Bands said, "White Cap, thou art passing stout of heart and strong of will. Therefore I make thee, younger brother of the wolf, the guardian and master of the Upper regions, for thou fliest through the skies without tiring, and thy coat is speckled like the clouds" (Cushing 1883:17). In Zuñi belief, the eagle will carry a shaman in his flight to different realms (McManis 1995:17).

According to a Rio Grande Pueblo Indian creation story, as the People emerged out of the third world into the fourth, one of the first beings they encountered was Eagle. And Eagle told them, "I am the Master of the Air, and I will give loftiness to your spirit." Eagle feathers, they believed, possess a special power. Pueblo sacred pipes were adorned with them and when they used them on an arrow shaft; arrows with eagle feathers cut the air more swiftly than ordinary arrows (Ortiz 1994:82-83).

The Hopi Katchina/Katsina Dance replicates the movements and the cries of an eagle. The Hopi, descendants of the Ancestral Puebloans, pray to "Mother Eagle" each spring before planting their corn. Hopi ritual used to require that young golden eagles and bald eagles (also known as "Snow Eagles") be captured along Black Mesa on Navajo land each spring, and end their lives among the Hopi villages in the fall. Their spirits were expected to return to the Hopi Gods (Bradfield 1974). The eagles were kept tethered in the plaza of each Hopi village until the time came for them to carry a record of all they had seen, plus prayers from the Hopi, to the Holy Ones who resided among the San Francisco Peaks with their ancestors. Hopi rituals are protected by Federal law, but today the Hopi have modified their practice so that the captured eagles are not killed. They are kept for a period of time, a primary feather or two is removed, and then the birds are released, otherwise unharmed, to carry prayers to the Holy Ones.

Many Diné (or Navajo) did not approve of killing so many eagles each year. The Diné believe, as many Native People do, that since all life is connected; they would rather have eagles free to soar in the skies. A Diné shaman, they think, can transform into a golden eagle to commune with deities on San Francisco Peak, the Sacred Mountain of the west. In a Diné story of Bead Woman, and in the Bead Chant, golden eagles become the principal intermediaries between humans and the Spirit World. There is both conflict and compromise in Hopi and Diné rituals. Both recognize the vital role of the eagle (Link 1998).

THE COMMON THREAD

A common thread that unites Native People's world view is the belief that every animal has a spirit. Although Eagle is the ruler of the sky, from time to time an eagle will enter into a human dancer. In the Kiowa Eagle Dance, the performer does not actually "become" the eagle, but rather feels the spirit of the eagle. Such ceremonies connect cultural areas. While the Comanche borrowed some of their ceremonial dances from other groups, the Eagle Dance was a traditional ceremony. A father would have the Eagle Dance performed for his son, to imbue him with special powers (Newcomb 1999:188). Among the Kiowa Apache there is a shamanistic society called the "Eagle Shields." They treat diseases by sleight of hand and other magical measures, invoking the special power of the eagle (Newcomb 1999:205).

Eagles continue to inspire respect. My wife and I were walking atop a 365 foot high mesa at Ácoma in west-central New Mexico. Tribal elders were walking with us, speaking among themselves about ceremonies that were going to occur that day. We were along the edge of the mesa, watching ravens with binoculars, when, from an out-of-sight perch under the mesa top, an immature golden eagle came gliding toward us, at the level of the rim. The elders spotted the bird at the same time. All talking ceased. All sound ceased. All movement ceased. With just the murmur of the wind the eagle passed us and with a few slow wing beats disappeared. We were awestruck, but what we treasured was the look of reverence on the faces of the elders.

SUMMARY

Eagles were very likely in the Hudson Valley before there were people here. The birds soared on the valley's thermals, caught its fish, and perched in its hardwoods. American colonialism, however, slowly made the eagles' presence problematic. America developed as a nation by controlling wilderness and wild things. Eagle stewardship had no part in progress. In trying to fashion the world in the image of Europe, the new Americans knew no other way.

It is ironic that at the same time we were declaring the bald eagle to be our national symbol, we were leveling bounties on eagles' lives. At the same time that we were creating an icon to symbolize American strength, we were exploiting the eagles' weaknesses by poisoning their food and eliminating their habitat. In the last quarter of the twentieth century we slowly began to recognize that four centuries ago we mistakenly cast aside a wilderness ethic we could have inherited from Algonquian peoples. We severed a sound spiritual connection to animals for a shortsighted philosophy of human control. Although there are very few remaining places and times in the Hudson Valley where we can sense the land that used to be and hear the sounds that once brightened the days, there is recognition in America today of what happens, what we can lose, when we abandon any segment of our ecological community. This is progress of a welcome sort, but it frightens many people. If this recognition continues, however, eagles will thrive. In time we can reconnect with our brother, our protector, our guide, and restore the "loftiness to our spirit."

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